# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-94-099* *23 May 1994*

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## Alia Refutes Indictment, Wants Trial Broadcast

*AU2105203894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 May 94*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The trial of former communist President Ramiz Alia and nine high Communist Party and state functionaries began today. Here is Marrash Mirashi.

[Mirashi] [passage omitted] The primary former heads of the communist nomenklatura were again gathered together, but this time not to give directives but to render account to Albanian justice. [passage omitted]

After presenting the defendants and their counsels, they were asked whether they agreed with the judicial body or not. Defense Counsel Kleanthi Koci and his client, defendant Ramiz Alia, did not agree with the judicial body, claiming that it is not of high stature and lacks experience. This was followed by other defendants and their counsels. Koci asked that the trial be suspended for defendant Alia.

Their respective defense attorneys asked that the trial of defendants Zylyftar Ramizi and Veiz Haderi be set apart from the rest of the group, because they had been soldiers and cannot be judged by a civil court. They also asked for new witnesses.

Defendant Alia requested that television broadcast the trial in full, saying: I have been head of state and the people should know what I have to say. In response, the chairman of the judicial body stressed that the media is free.

The prosecutor was asked to change the security measures for defendant Simon Stefani. Later, the presentation of witnesses was held. There was a great number of witnesses, among whom were old state and party apparatus workers, dependents or colleagues of the defendants, but also people harmed by the activity of the defendants in this trial.

The judicial body withdrew to make decisions on the demands put forward. Mr. Celiku, chairman of the judicial body, then took the floor. He found the aforementioned demands not based on law and rejected them.

Prosecutor Neshat Thana read out an approximately 60-page indictment. Defendants Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Manush Myftiu, and Rita Marko are facing charges of conspiring to misappropriate state property for a total amount of 2,883,502 leks and of the abuse of power, resulting in the illegal violation of the fundamental rights of citizens and financial damages amounting to 484,778 leks.

Defendants Simon Stefani and Hekuran Isai were charged with conspiring to abuse their positions, resulting in the illegal violation of the fundamental rights of citizens to the detriment of the lives of several persons, murders committed at the border, and violation of the equality of citizens through the creation of privileges.

Aranit Cela and Rrapi Mino are charged with conspiring to abuse their positions, resulting in the illegal violation of the fundamental rights of citizens.

Zylyftar Ramizi is charged with conspiring to abuse his position, resulting in the illegal violation of the fundamental rights of citizens to the detriment of people's lives.

Veiz Haderi is charged with conspiring to abuse his position, resulting in humiliating acts against citizens detained or killed at the border.

The indictment contained concrete examples of genocide, violence, and abuse. After the indictment was read, the chairman of the judicial body took the floor:

[Begin recording] [Celiku] Did you hear the indictment? Did you understand it? What is your position on it? Do you accept it or not? [end recording]

[Alia] The indictment? I do not accept it. [end recording]

Just like the defendant Ramiz Alia, none of the other defendants or their counsels accepted the indictment.

At the end of today's trial hearing, the order in which the defendants would be questioned was decided. The chairman of the judicial body then closed the hearing. The next session will begin at 0900 tomorrow morning with the interrogation of the defendants.

## Ministry 'Regrets' Greece's 'Blocking' of Aid

*AU2105205994 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 May 94*

["Statement by the Foreign Ministry of Albania"; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Being informed that the Greek Government representative blocked the decision to grant 35 million ECU's to Albania for assistance with the balance of payments at the 16 May 1994 meeting of the EC economy and finance ministers, the Foreign Ministry expresses its regret over this action, which runs counter to the European Union [EU] Commission recommendations and the unreserved approval of the European Parliament. Besides this, no other representative from the 12 EC countries present in the aforementioned meeting had any objection to granting this assistance. We stress that this assistance was recommended by the IMF.

We would like to point out that such an act is neither in conformity with the EC's revolving presidency, which Greece holds, nor with the relations of good-neighborliness that Greece professes to have with Albania, and the efforts made to improve the relations between Albania and Greece.

The claim that the Greek authorities are dissatisfied with the respect for the rights of the Greek minority in Albania cannot be taken as sincere and serious, as these cases have been examined by the EU Commission and Parliament and no other country of this community that is interested and informed on developments in Albania presented such observations.

Over the last two years, dozens of international commissions of the CSCE, the Council of Europe, and the EU have come and they have made no significant observations, apart from asserting the great improvement in the situation and in the rights of the Greek minority.

We also express our regret that, because of political passions, the Greek Government does not hesitate to penalize, with this act, the Greek minority, by blocking assistance aimed at the development of reforms in Albania, from which the minorities would profit along with all other Albanian citizens.

Considering its timing, such an action is prejudicial for the meeting between the foreign ministers of the two countries, proposed by the Albanian side and accepted by the Greek side.

We hope that the EC's 12 other member countries, which have given great assistance to Albania in this difficult period of transition, will not comply with such a stance, which aims at blocking reforms and will influence the approval of this assistance. We believe that the blocking policy does not do honor to Greece, the EC's revolving president, from whom its neighbors are waiting for concrete assistance in the common interest of integration, stability, and peace in the region.

## Committee Criticizes Visiting Greek Archbishop

*AU2005162794 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] [Announcer] The Tirana branch of the Committee for the Protection of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church intends to put an end to the temporary stay of [Archbishop] Janullatos in Albania. This was stated at a joint meeting that this committee organized with the Tirana branch of the Association of Political Persecutees. For more details we go over to our correspondent, Arben Karapici:

[Karapici] It seems that Archbishop Anastasios Janullatos has finished his stay and temporary religious mission in Albania. This is, at least, the opinion of the Committee for the Protection of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which was confirmed at a joint meeting with the branch of the Association of Former Political Persecutees in Tirana.

Several cases were reported on at this meeting. The latest was in Elbasan, where the Orthodox believers of this city asked Janullatos to consecrate Nikolla Marko from Elbasan as archbishop of the city's Orthodox Church. As a response to this demand by the Elbasan Orthodox believers, Janullatos was reported to have said that he had taken advice from God, who ordered him not to hurry in such affairs, i.e., the ordaining of Albanian Orthodox priests.

Petrit Bidoshi, chairman of the Committee for the Protection of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, informed those present at the meeting that Janullatos has maintained the same stance toward the demand to ordain the priest Arian Koja from Tirana.

Bidoshi said that both Orthodox priests from Elbasan and Tirana have high theological backgrounds and, according to him, they should be appointed as soon as possible. But Janullatos's stance in this case runs counter to his own religious mission, Bidoshi stressed.

For the intellectuals present and all the believers who filled the hall, these two cases were sufficient argument for the meeting to conclude that the conditions had been created to terminate Greek Archbishop Janullatos's temporary stay in Albania.

## Greek Minority Group Cites Rights Violations

*NC2005133294 Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 19 May 94 p 3*

[Excerpts] Tirana—At a news conference in Tirana yesterday the leaders of the minority organization "Omonoia" denounced the violation of Greek minority rights stemming from the Albanian Constitution.

They denounced both the ongoing detention of the organization's leading members, on which the intervention of Albanian President Sali Berisha has been requested, and the ban on the functioning of its offices in Gjirokaster as well as repeated break-ins at homes by members of the secret police ShIK.

Omonoia describes these actions as a violation of human rights and points out that they hurt relations between the Albanian people and the Greek minority. It recalls that the minority was banned from celebrating the 25 March anniversary and also leveled serious charges about the operation of minority schools. According to these charges, 200 children of the lower school grades are prevented from attending classes in Greek.

On the organization's claims regarding language, Omonoia demands recognition of the right to education, the right to perform religious functions, and the broadcasting of radio and television programs in Greek, which is used along with Albanian. [passage omitted]

On political rights, Omonoia demands that the minority population get the chance of being hired on every level of administration, having their cultural inheritance protected, and given freedom to be free to determine their national identity.

In its national claims, Omonoia includes recognition of the right to establish national parties and the possibility

of using Greek national symbols along with Albanian national symbols on official holidays and anniversaries.

Omonoia believes that all its demands are within the limits stipulated by the Albanian Constitution and the law "on fundamental human rights and freedoms," which has been passed by the Albanian Parliament.

The organization points out that despite the Albanian president's statement, Albania's stance toward the minority has not changed and repeated attempts were made to indirectly involve the minority in criminal actions at Peshkepi, which, together with any use of violence and arbitrariness, is denounced by the organization.

Omonoia stresses that friendly Albanian-Greek relations are essential for peace and stability in the Balkans. [passage omitted]

## 'Contradictions' Between Berisha, Rugova Viewed

*AU2305080494 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 18 May p 3*

[Article by Andi Bejtja: "Berisha and Rugova Under the Same Denominator—Dialogue With Serbia Unavoidable"]

[Text] "...At this moment, it is imperative to establish dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade in the presence of a third party, to determine measures to normalize life and to achieve a political solution to the problem of Kosova." This was the essence of the most recent meeting between President Berisha and Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova.

Rugova reaches this verdict three years after the proclamation of the republic of Kosova and about two years after the start of his political carreer under the title of president of a country that no European country recognizes. At every meeting with foreign diplomats, he has continually insisted on the independence and neutrality of the republic of Kosova and the need to place it under a civil protectorate of the United Nations, perhaps doing all that is possible to internationalize this issue, which in all probability will soon be put forward for a settlement.

Meanwhile, Berisha, the Albanian nation's other president, comes to this point after his harsh statements about NATO forces bombing Belgrade and his flexible remarks in this context that "Albania is not in favor of changing borders by force, but of respect for the rights of Albanians wherever they are."

Contradictions are noticeable in these two excursions of the two Albanian presidents toward a solution for the question of Kosova, which have perhaps resulted from the stagnation of European diplomacy over this issue. The entire international diplomatic commitment has remained stuck at the limits of the autonomy afforded by former Yugoslav President Tito in 1974, while Albanian diplomacy has committed itself much further to the idea of the republic. It is nevertheless indisputable that the two presidents have now reached a common denominator in the shape of dialogue with Milosevic.

Did Rugova move toward Berisha or did Berisha move toward Rugova?

It must be said that there has been a basic contradiction between the statements of the two Albanian presidents in recent years, which, although resolved, cannot fail to leave a scar. Berisha has continually declared that he supports Rugova's policy, which means he supports the idea of the republic of Kosova, at a time when at his meetings with leaders of foreign diplomacy he has said that "Albania is not in favor of changing borders by force but of respect for the rights of Albanians wherever they are," which can imply all sorts of things but not an independent and neutral Kosova.

This is understandable. Rugova has sat longer in the chair given to him by his people than in the seats of European diplomacy, whereas Berisha, as the president of a country seeking to involve itself in European organizations, has necessarily taken up the seat given him by international diplomacy.

One can therefore firmly say that it was Rugova who moved toward Berisha, which means that it was Rugova who could not overcome the barriers imposed by those who lead the world and decide what will happen to Bosnia. However, can it at the same time be Rugova, who mediates in the Albanian-Serbian talks, at a time when his theory has been shown to be obsolete and worthless in a dialogue with Belgrade, which does not recognize him in the capacity of president of Kosova?

At a time when no fresh figure who could mediate the Albanian-Serbian talks is emerging in Prishtina, it seems that in Tirana it is the Albanian Socialists, who long ago came out in favor of dialogue with Belgrade, who are attempting to play this high-value card. Well-informed sources report that Luan Hajdaraga and Bashkim Zeneli, two of the Socialist leaders, held a meeting lasting more than two hours in the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana, at which the central topic was precisely the problem of Kosova and Rugova's policies. With the help of the contradiction between the statements of the two Albanian presidents, the Albanian Socialists perhaps wish to acquire a proprietary interest in the cause of Kosova in Albania, hoping that, if the title-deeds can pass to them, early elections may become a reality.

## Zhelev, Party Leaders Discuss Early Elections

*AU2005134994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] As we have already reported, President Zhelev this morning invited representatives of the parliamentary groups to a meeting to discuss the political situation in the country. Only Stefan Savov [leader of the Union of Democratic Forces parliamentary group] showed up for this meeting.

At lunchtime President Zhelev met with Professor Nikolay Vasilev and Georgi Kostov, representatives of the NSD [New Alliance for Democracy], and with Ruslan Semerdzhiev and Ivan Pushkarov of the Assembly for Democracy [SD]. At the meeting they discussed possible ways out of the present political situation. President Zhelev suggested that a definite date should be fixed for holding early parliamentary elections, which, in his view, should take place at the end of September or the beginning of October. Once this date had been determined, the political forces should reach an agreement on electing a government. During this period parliament should concentrate on passing the most urgent economic legislation. Two months before the date fixed for the elections, the government should become a caretaker and start preparing for early parliamentary elections.

President Zhelev also explained his views on the way out of the present political situation with Aleksandur Tomov, GOR [Civic Alliance for the Republic] leader. As Tomov said a few minutes ago after the meeting had ended, they discussed the possibility of signing an agreement on early parliamentary elections within the next 10 days and of ensuring a smooth transitional period until the elections are held.

## Zhelev Announces Proposal

*AU2005165494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 May 94*

[Address to the nation by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev in Sofia on 20 May—recorded]

[Text] Dear compatriots: During the last few days a farce has developed in Bulgaria that poses a threat to the foundations of parliamentarianism. Guided by personal and party interests, many deputies have involved themselves in lobbying machinations and bargaining that are well on the way to finally destroying the people's trust in the institutions of state. I do not have the right to judge anyone, but I am convinced that democracy, apart from merely being a form of procedure, also means a sense of responsibility, which some people have forgotten. The deepening political crisis has led to a complete paralysis of state life. In my view, we can extract ourselves from this situation only with the determination of all the responsible political forces in the country.

This conviction led me to invite the chairmen of the parliamentary groups to a meeting. Yesterday and today I held talks with National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov; with Stefan Savov, chairman of the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]; with representatives of the NSD [New Alliance for Democracy] and the Independence parliamentary group, Georgi Kostov, Nikolay Vasilev, and Ivan Pushkarov; and with Aleksandur Tomov, chairman of the GOR [Civic Alliance for the Republic]. For reasons outside my control, no meetings took place with Nora Ananieva, parliamentary group leader for the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and its coalition, or with Ahmed Dogan, leader of the DPS [Movement for Rights and Freedoms] parliamentary group.

I will now propose to the nation what I proposed to the politicians: the reaching of an agreement between the parliamentary forces on early elections. The agreement should define the following:

First, the exact date of the elections.

Second, it should guarantee the passing of laws that will ensure the conclusion of the agreement on our foreign debt and create conditions for carrying through real reforms.

Third, the agreement should lead to the formation of a government that will enjoy the confidence of all the parliamentary forces, guarantee responsible government in the pre-election period, guarantee the fairness of the elections, and continue the reforms that have begun.

If such an agreement is concluded and such a government elected, I shall assume the obligation to entrust this government with the additional task of carrying out the functions of a caretaker government during the final two months preceding the elections. I hope that this will put an end to the dirty speculations concerning the role of a future caretaker cabinet and will enable us to emerge from the crisis, because what we are now putting at risk is not merely the instability of one government or another, of some parliament or other, but faith in parliamentarianism and democracy.

Dear compatriots, I want to believe that the parliamentary forces will find the courage, responsibility, and goodwill to conclude such an agreement on early elections, an agreement for preserving democracy and parliamentarianism. However, at the ballot box the decision lies with you.

## Berov Announces Stance on Assembly Situation

*AU2005171594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] A short time ago the Council of Ministers Press Center disseminated the view of Prime Minister Lyuben Berov on the debates in the National Assembly and the tasks facing parliament during the next few days.

The prime minister of the Republic of Bulgaria declared once again that the government has invested and continues to invest much effort in maintaining a parliamentary majority that will support the cabinet, without any change to its formula of a cabinet of experts entrusted with addressing the most important national tasks: combating inflation, fighting crime, settling the foreign debt, and other priority tasks.

However, with great regret, Prime Minister Berov noted that changes have evidently occurred in the positions held by the parliamentary groups, which until now have supported the cabinet. The prime minister intends to attempt once again to achieve a unification of the parliamentary groups that are now in opposition to one another, so as to conclude the most important tasks on which work has begun, which any Bulgarian Government is bound to complete without fail. If the prime minister fails to achieve this before 25 May, he will consider that his mission of preserving political equilibrium in the country has been exhausted. He is firmly convinced that unless this is achieved, Bulgaria is on the road to early parliamentary elections.

## KNSB Calls Off Strike Action During Crisis

*AU2005172294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] The Executive Committee of the KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria] decided today to call off mass strike actions until parliament reaches a final decision on the fate of the Lyuben Berov cabinet, but the KNSB structures are to remain ready to strike.

The protests that are planned to begin on 25 May in various parts of the country are to be supported by KNSB union federations and regional structures. This decision was adopted after the Executive Committee had reached the view that at the moment no parliamentary majority exists and that the country has no legitimate government able to adopt responsible decisions.

## Resolutions of Sixth SDS National Conference

*AU2005192694 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 16 May 94 p 1*

["Resolutions of the Sixth National Conference of the Union of Democratic Forces"; place and date not given]

[Text] 1. The only real solution to the deepening political and economic crisis in the country is to hold early parliamentary elections.

2. It is impossible in the present parliament to formulate positive goals for carrying through the reform. The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] unequivocally declares that any attempt to extend the life of the government or to form a new government within the term of this parliament will lead to irreparable and disastrous consequences for the country.

3. The SDS links its participation in the work of the present parliament with the fate of the government. If the government is retained or altered or a new one formed, the SDS National Coordinating Council and parliamentary group are to take immediate actions to provoke early parliamentary elections—rallies, marches, demonstrations, a boycott of parliament, and civil disobedience within the law.

4. When candidates are proposed for seats in the National Assembly, it is essential to observe the principles of party political responsibility, eligibility for election, and the effectiveness of the candidates.

On the basis of the resolutions of the SDS's Fifth National Conference and the proposals made by the Sixth National Conference, the National Coordinating Council is to draft, in collaboration with the local coordinating councils and full SDS members, mechanisms to ensure that the above principles are observed in the best possible way and to prevent any new substitution of the electoral vote.

The following persons may not be proposed in the lists of SDS parliamentary candidates, be members of the National Coordinating Council and municipal councils, or be proposed by the SDS as mayors and oblast administrators: sons and daughters of active fighters against fascism and capitalism, of members of the Politburo or Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], of communist generals and colonels, and of secretaries of BSP okrug and city committees, or persons who have applied for membership in the BCP.

5. The following new Paragraph No. 2 is added to Article 1 of the SDS Statute:

The leading political organs of the SDS are the national conference and the National Coordinating Council, whose decisions are binding on all SDS structures and institutions.

Sentences two and three in Article 36 of the SDS Statute are deleted. (Editor's note: "He has the right to postpone the adoption of decisions by the National Coordinating Council that have to be implemented by the SDS parliamentary group until they are discussed by the parliamentary group, until the next meeting of the National Coordinating Council. In the event of any differences in views, the decision is adopted following joint discussion of the issue between the National Coordinating Council and the SDS parliamentary group.")

6. The aim of the SDS to increase to the maximum its influence in Bulgarian society and politics remains the leading trend in its development. The chief criterion governing the attitude of the SDS to other democratic formations is the idea of real decommunization of society.

**Kozloduy Station Shuts Down Reactor Unit**

*AU2005152494 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 May 94 p 1*

["Duma Press" report]

[Text] The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Station has announced that the No. 1 reactor unit has been shut down because of a minor defect, namely poor flow in bleeding air from the No. 1 main circulating pump. The unit was shut down on instructions from the central operations room. There are no changes in the radiation situation in the country. The defect will be repaired by the end of the week. Even with the No. 1 reactor out of operation, the nuclear power station is producing 1,520 megawatts, so the national grid will not be affected.

## 'Tense Relations' Between Klaus, Havel Noted

*AU2005165094 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 May 94 p 2*

["alm, go"-signed report: "Thrash It Out Some More, Klaus Said Referring to his Alleged Arrogance Toward Castle"]

[Text] Prague—"Thrash it out some more," Klaus responded on Wednesday [18 May] to the observation made by RUDE PRAVO that the tense relations between the president and the prime minister are being thrashed out, and that the statement "No comment," so popular with both of them, results in even more speculation.

Klaus was already refusing to comment on the claim that he behaves arrogantly towards President Havel on Tuesday [17 May]. Targeting Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party, who had made this claim, the prime minister said in the Czech Radio Radizurnal program, among other things: "Regarding famous and world renowned arrogance, he should consider himself and let others live their own lives." Zeman said at the Czech Social Democratic Party conference on 13 May: "We have a certain empathy with the lonely man in Prague Castle, who is now and then bombarded with arrogant telephone calls from the Czech prime minister." Free Democrats (Civic Movement) Chairman Jiri Dienstbier replied to the RUDE PRAVO question concerning Friday's conference: "There are political forces here that are attempting to keep the president in the Castle as isolated as possible."

## Havel: Resurgence of Left in Europe Normal

*LD2205153694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 22 May 94*

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Robert Tamchyna in Lany; date not given; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Tamchyna] If you will permit, Mr. President, let us begin today by casting our minds back to last week when the international conference "Europe and Us" was held in Prague. When I read excerpts from some of the speeches and presentations there were of course some interesting moments and even some idealistic notions, but in addition to that a degree of uncertainty and apprehension about the question of the future of a new, modern Europe and our role within it.

[Havel] I did not attend the entire conference, but from what I heard I get the impression that it was a very interesting and important conference. There were some interesting personalities here from all over Europe, some of whom I met and spoke to, and for me the staging of the conference was a kind of signal to consider certain things.

For example, I realized, and also said so when I was there briefly at the conference, I realized that a temporary, transitional phase had ended, not just in our country, but also in others that have shaken off communism. We must bear in mind the monolithic power that existed here and had at its disposal all the instruments of power—there was no system of political plurality. When that power collapsed organizations grew up to oppose it and sought a means of organized expression of their will. That was the period of the big mass movements, such as Solidarity in Poland or Civic Forum in our country, which constituted a kind of improvised revolutionary counterbalance to the ruling power. It was clear that that was merely a bridging period leading to more normal political circumstances in which the spectrum of political parties would become defined and in which political parties would grow up around various programs.

For the first two years we lived through this truly transitional phase, full of various anomalies that do not belong to normal, stable democratic life, and it was a very important period. Nowadays we sometimes have a tendency to make fun of it, to turn our noses up at the whole period of revolutionary euphoria and the idea of that kind of general understanding, but I do not think that that is entirely fair. Let us remember that that was the time when all the fundamental changes to the system were made. That was the time when the character of our economic reforms was agreed upon, when fundamental legislation was passed, when the transformation of the entire legal system began, and when we established ourselves on the international scene as an independent country. But it was a period of transition, to which I gave the working label of "post communist," by which I wished to express its unusual character.

We have had two sets of free elections, we have normal, structured political parties which compete for power in those elections, and we are genuinely becoming, as far as all the external signs of political life are concerned, a normal democratic country. I think it is important to realize this, and when our politicians are sometimes accused of being arrogant and people say that we are always praising ourselves and that we are somehow conceited, I think it is possibly a little unjust. We are trying to truthfully reflect the situation and to persuade others to keep up with the times, so to speak, and to realize that we are genuinely further than we were at the beginning of 1990.

The above is not true just of the Czech Republic, which in the table of indicators is doing relatively well, but also of those neighboring countries where the fact that so-called post-communist parties are winning elections is causing a certain nervousness. I admit that that does not make me all that nervous. I do not see in it any sign of a return to the past or anything like that. I would prefer to see it as precisely an expression of normality. That is how democracies work, sometimes the left wins and sometimes the right, and we have to become accustomed to that. [passage omitted]

### German Views on Benes Decrees Reported

*LD2205110494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0800 GMT 22 May 94*

[Excerpt] The 45th Sudeten German Congress ends in Nuremberg today. At its opening on 21 May German and Austrian politicians called on the Czech Republic to enter into a dialogue with the Sudeten Germans. Theo Waigel, German finance minister and leader of the Bavarian Christian Social Union, welcomed and expressed his support for the progress of the Czech Republic toward joining the European Union. However, he also said that the Czech Government should officially distance itself from the Benes decrees of 1945 [ordering confiscation of Sudeten Germans' property] and declare them invalid.

As he did in a recent article in the weekly newspaper SUDETENDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock again drew an indirect parallel between the postwar expulsion of Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia and ethnic cleansing in the present Balkan war. [passage omitted]

### Klaus Offer Rejected

*LD2205131994 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 22 May 94*

[Excerpts] The Sudeten German congress culminated in Nuremberg today. Our correspondent Jiri Halousek reports from there. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] In his speech today Franz Neubauer, chairman of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, rejected Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus's view that Sudeten Germans might be individually granted—in some circumstances—the right to return to their former homeland. Franz Neubauer said this was not sufficient as the Sudeten Germans had not been expelled individually, but collectively.

The congress concluded with a speech by Bavarian Prime Minister Edmund Stoiber. He said relations between Germany and Bavaria on one side and the Czech Republic on the other had developed significantly in the last few years. However, a political dialogue of the Czech cabinet and parliament with elected officials of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft was still missing. Only its introduction would make these relations really good. This is why Edmund Stoiber proposed to open such a dialogue next year, exactly 50 years from the end of the Second World War and the start of the Sudeten Germans' expulsion from our country.

### Support for Sudeten Germans

*LD2205182294 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 22 May 94*

[Excerpts] The 45th Sudeten German Days culminated in Nuremberg in Bavaria today. Our correspondent in Germany, Jiri Halousek, filed this telephone dispatch.

[Begin Halousek recording] [passage omitted] One of the first speakers to address the main gathering in the Franken Halle at the Nuremberg trade fair was Imrich Kruzliak, adviser to the Slovak president. Kruzliak conveyed to the Sudeten Germans' greetings from Slovakia and said that the Sudeten German issue must not be swept under the carpet for political reasons.

Afterward, Federal Interior Minister Manfred Kanther emphasized that Sudeten Germans had to be included, in the spirit of friendship, in future German-Czech relations. At the same time, he gave them an assurance of support by the Bonn-based Federal Government.

Bavarian Minister-President Edmund Stoiber also voiced support for the Sudeten German Landesmannschaft. He recalled that this year it was precisely 40 years since Bavaria took over the patronage of Sudeten Germans. Edmund Stoiber went on to say that in recent years there has been a comprehensive development of relations between Bavaria and Germany and the Czech Republic. In order to describe them as good, it is apparently still necessary that the Czech Government and parliament open a political dialogue with the elected representatives of the Sudeten German Landesmannschaft.

The Bavarian minister-president went on to say that he discussed this issue with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in August last year. At that time he gained the impression that Vaclav Klaus was going to give serious consideration to his proposal. That is why he is supposedly waiting for a signal from the Czech side. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Ruml Interviewed on Interior Ministry, Police

*AU1905190794 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 17 May 94 pp 1-2*

[Interview with Interior Minister Jan Ruml by Jiri Stastny; place and date not given: "The Publication of Files Is a Tool for Learning One's Own Past"]

[Text] *Relations between the police and the judiciary, the work of the Office for the Documentation and Investigation of the Crimes of the StB [former State Security], and making hitherto classified information accessible to the public were the main topics of a CESKY DENIK interview with Interior Minister Jan Ruml.*

[Stastny] Mr. Minister, upon her appointment as attorney general, Bohumira Kopecna set as her first task improving cooperation between the Bureau of Investigation and the State Attorney's Office. How does the Interior Ministry intend to deal with that problem?

[Ruml] Even the police and frequently the courts come into conflict with the Bureau of Investigation. I believe the tension between these entities, which represent conflicting interests, is completely natural. It is important, however, that it does not go beyond a certain level of tolerability. Last week, a meeting took place on this issue

that was attended by the minister of justice, the Supreme Court chairman, the attorney general, the police director, the director of the Bureau of Investigation, and I. We agreed at this meeting that the State Attorney's Office would prepare a binding instruction for its staff on how it is to deal with problems concerning criminal activities, and, at the same time, similar memoranda will be prepared for the police and the Bureau of Investigation. These bodies are often inundated with work and have the tendency to return individual cases for additional investigation just to gain time. Frequently, problems are caused by the human factor and can be solved by an accommodating approach.

It is necessary that the Criminal Code amendment currently in effect meet expectations and that most of the process of obtaining a conviction take place before the courts and not with the police or the Bureau of Investigation.

[Stastny] Are there similar problems in communications between the Police Presidium and lower police units?

[Ruml] The problem is much more serious between the police, whether enforcing order or investigating crime, and the Bureau of Investigation, which often duplicates the work of the police. Policemen always see evidence differently from the examiner, know more than they can prove, and are assessed on the basis of solving cases. That is different from the examiner, who is responsible for establishing clear-cut crimes. These interests do not always coincide. It often is a matter of the appointment of personnel so the people involved get along together.

[Stastny] Are you planning to augment the powers of the Office for the Documentation and Investigation of the Activities of the StB?

[Ruml] I do not believe it necessary to augment the powers of that office. It would be more expedient to make sure that its work is more effective. It has all the powers necessary because it can collect documentation as well as investigate, so it is also a body active in investigating criminal activities. There is nothing to prevent this office from initiating criminal proceedings if it obtains the necessary evidence. We should focus on the question of whether there are the resources within the institution itself. Its powers are sufficient, and the 50 employees, I believe, provide it with the conditions needed to bring to light many things of the past.

[Stastny] How do you feel about the proposed way to publish the names of StB collaborators?

[Ruml] So far, only the outline of the system has been agreed upon. According to this, every citizen has the right to know what type of information has been obtained on him. In response to a citizen's question, the ministry will either report that the specific files do not exist and explain why, or the citizen will be given the opportunity to view them, copy them, etc. It is a tool for learning about our own past so we will not leave blank spots on the map of the past 40 years. It should also contribute to a relaxation in society, and every citizen should have the right to obtain information on himself.

[Stastny] Has the problem of blotting out the names of other people referred to in these files been solved?

[Ruml] It has not been solved in principle, and no law is in the legislative process. Apparently the government will have to make a decision on this. Personally, I believe that only the names of people who do not belong in the file and appear there by some coincidence should be blotted out. If the names of agents were blotted out, the law would lose any meaning. Let the people know who reported on them! I do not believe that it would cause a "witch hunt." We can see from the example of Germany that it has more of a purifying effect.

[Stastny] How are the police equipment tenders progressing?

[Ruml] Some have been closed—the one for jeeps and the one for digital fingerprinting systems, for instance. Tenders are in progress on a standard police vehicle, an FM radio system, and vehicles with speed-gauging equipment for the traffic police. The Interior Ministry is inviting its own tenders because, so far, there is no law on public orders. We are trying for the maximum objectivity and also include on the selection commissions experts from other sectors so that not even a shadow of suspicion of bribery can fall on the commission. This is a very demanding method but the only feasible one because the public sphere must be subject to control, and open public tender is the best form of control over financial spending.

### Moravcik Against Special Status for Russia

*LD2005162694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik discussed at a news conference held in Bratislava today the results of his official visits to France and Slovenia. Regarding the security situation in Europe, he stated that refusal to accept the Baltic state as members in the Partnership for Peace program will mean a violation of the fundamental principle underpinning the initiative, which is an individual approach and an equal opportunity for all states. According to Jozef Moravcik, the granting of special status to Russia will not be favorable for the countries of Central Europe, and it will signify to a certain extent a return to the idea of the division of the sphere of interests between Russia and the countries of the European Union or NATO. He added that if Slovakia were to be accepted as a member of the North Atlantic Alliance then the special status of Russia will not matter to us at all.

### Social Democratic Party Approves Coalition

*LD2105200094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] The Central Council of the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia gave a unanimous approval today to the agreement on election and post-election cooperation with the Party of the Democratic Left, the Farmers' Movement, and the Green Party. Jaroslav Volf, the chairman of Slovak Social Democratic Party, described the approval of the agreement as a step through which the party has fulfilled the notion of creating a left wing, social democratically oriented movement.

### Poll Indicates Degree of Support for Parties

*AU2005190594 Bratislava SME in Slovak 18 May 94 p 4*

[Commentary by Ondrej Dostal: "'Pro-Government' Versus 'Opposition' Parties: 35.8 Percent to 25.1 Percent"]

[Text] Yesterday we published the results of a representative survey of public opinion that was conducted by Slovak Radio's Methodological Research Department at the beginning of May. It transpires that, at the time of the survey, only three political entities—the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]—managed to cross on their own the threshold of 5 percent of votes needed to enter the parliament. However, apart from them, there exist another nine political entities that are preferred by more than 2 percent of voters (after subtracting those who do not want to go to the polls or who did not give a reply). From the total number of respondents, 50 percent supported one of the parliamentary parties and 16.8 percent one of the extraparliamentary parties. Parliamentary parties supporting the government gained 26.2 percent, opposition parliamentary parties 23.8 percent, extraparliamentary parties cooperating with the government parties 9.6 percent, and extraparliamentary parties cooperating with the opposition parties 1.3 percent. Hence, the overall ratio of preferences of "pro-government" versus "opposition" parties is 35.8 percent to 25.1 percent.

If the election results coincided with the results of the survey and if no pre-election coalitions were formed, the National Council of the Slovak Republic would be composed as follows: HZDS—84 deputies; SDL—35 deputies; KDH—31 deputies. If we took into consideration also the actually functioning Hungarian parliamentary coalition, the HZDS would have 72 deputies, SDL 30 deputies, KDH 27 deputies, and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH]- Coexistence coalition 21 deputies.

The electoral preferences of coalitions made up of entities with a similar orientation were also ascertained during the survey. The following composition of the parliament would arise from replies to this question: Coalition of nationally oriented parties (HZDS, Slovak National Party, Christian Social Union)—54 deputies; coalition of left-wing and social democratic parties (SDL, Social Democratic Party in Slovakia, Green Party in Slovakia, Farmers Movement)—41 deputies; coalition of right-wing and liberal parties (KDH, Democratic Party, National Democratic Party-New Alternative, Democratic Union, Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen)—35 deputies; and coalition of Hungarian parties (Coexistence, MKDH, Hungarian Civic Party)—20 deputies.

### Article Views Parties After Elections in Hungary

*AU2305093994 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 May 94 p 9*

[Report by Judit Brogyanyi: "Is Coexistence at a Crossroads?"]

[Text] The results of the first round of elections in Hungary had a great impact on the politics of Hungarians in Slovakia. The coalition talks on joint participation with the Coexistence at the autumn elections which was initiated by the Hungarian Civic Party and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDM] still have not brought any results. In fact, the reluctant Coexistence has even postponed the signing of the expired agreement on a two-party coalition with the Christians which was first made two years ago.

The concern of the electors is shown by the facts that the local organizations of the three political parties have made agreements of their own will, and an action to collect signatures is in progress which was started with the signatures of renowned personalities of the nearly 600,000-strong Hungarian community to win the support of people who are in favor of the coalition. The Coexistence's latest statement that called for making a union rather than a coalition appears to have ignored the

obvious intentions of the citizens. According to the MKDM, this statement proclaims generalities, it lacks concept, and there is not even time to detail the ideas and to draw them up precisely, and it rejected the idea.

The seriousness of the situation is shown by the fact that the chief editor of UJ SZO, the only Hungarian weekly newspaper in Slovakia, one that strives for balance between the parties and carefully maintains its independence, wrote a rather open analysis headed "Crossroads," turning to the Coexistence and especially its chairman, because—as Jozsef Szilvassy writes—"the conductor's baton is still in Miklos Duray's hands." Acknowledging Duray's truly unique merits in the actions against the previous regime, he points out that "the politician who had a keen perception and made excellent analyses even at the beginning of the 1990's," and who quickly realized Meciar's serious mistakes, perhaps came under the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF] influence too much and committed himself as a staunch adherent of the Hungarian government party—"it can be assumed for what kind of ideological, current political, and financial reasons." According to UJ SZO, Duray did not learn from the MDF's politics fraught with mistakes; in fact, "due to his bias and his nostalgia for the false ideas of the last century, he did not even manage to dispel the suspicion among the small group of well-intentioned Slovak intellectuals that territorial autonomy is not the only one of his final goals."

According to UJ SZO's chief editor, in politics, the merit of yesterday does not excuse the mistakes of today. Therefore, the Coexistence, whose politics disappointed many people, should re- examine its past actions and especially its links with Hungary because we would all suffer the consequences if the "political movement that has a significant basis remained within the constraints it had created."

The Coexistence's union plan is presumably guided by the thought that the new political unit would integrate all four Hungarian parties in Slovakia and, within the union, it would vindicate the political leadership to itself, the experts believe. The reluctant party leadership is visibly worried that, recognizing the requirements of political realism and the consequences of the Hungarian Socialist Party's victory in Hungary, the Hungarians who make up 11 percent of the population would be happy to support Weiss's left-wing party that also has Hungarian deputies, or the sober Hungarian civic liberals who learned from the mistakes of the former government.

## Kovac Discusses Former Prime Minister Meciar

*AU2005192594 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech (DNES Supplement) 19 May 94 pp 30-32*

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by Karol Wolf; place and date not given: "Patient Politician Michal Kovac"]

[Excerpts] [Wolf] Prior to becoming president, you held the post of the chairman of the last Federal Assembly and you took part in practically all important talks between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Civic Democratic Party as an HZDS representative. Which of the Czech politicians with whom you worked do you remember most fondly? And with which one would you not want to work again?

[Kovac] I will avoid the second part of the question but I must say that there are many Czech politicians whom I respected and still do today. They are particularly the ones who, in addition to professional qualities, had the ability of human rapport with the political partner, even an adversary, and could offer trust for trust and sincerity for sincerity. I must say that I knew many of the present Czech politicians personally at the time of normalization. They are Messrs Kocarnik, Dyba, Strasky, but also Mr. Klaus. These human contacts certainly helped us at the time when understanding and patience were needed. [passage omitted]

[Wolf] You have certainly spent a substantial part of your political career in the HZDS and in cooperation with the former Slovak Prime Minister Meciar. When did you two first meet and how do you remember it?

[Kovac] We first met in the first Slovak post-November Government, which I joined a little earlier. We were all waiting for an interior minister, and Mr. Meciar was appointed to the post. I liked him as interior minister, and my then colleagues felt the same way. Apparently, he made a good impression also on the Public Against Violence Movement coordination center, for they nominated him for the prime ministerial post after the first free elections in 1990. When Vladimir Meciar became prime minister, I admired his work enthusiasm and his ability to grasp the essence of an issue. I remember that he led the government session at a tremendous speed, and not all of us could keep up with him. Nevertheless, his negative features had also already been demonstrated at that time. He acted unfairly, for instance, more than once towards First Deputy Prime Minister Carnogursky, and later, when he learned that some colleagues like another deputy prime minister, Kucerak, demonstrated their independence, he was quick-tempered and often arrogant in his reaction. I often had the feeling that Mr. Meciar is lacking more tolerance. At the time, however, it was easily explained by the tremendous stress and the large quantity of work that overwhelmed us all. It was a tremendous feeling of responsibility, and I did not perceive the negative features of Mr. Meciar—and they were not just the ones I listed, others appeared later—as something that could be potentially dangerous.

[Wolf] Have you also met with Vladimir Meciar privately?

[Kovac] I do not know him well as a person. There were not enough opportunities for friendly meetings and discussions. After all, these posts mean that one constantly thinks only about the work, and does not have the time to get to know even the fellow workers with whom he is in daily contact. Nonetheless, I remember that I

made several attempts at a friendly relationship, because I believe that even for a cabinet team it is good to know one another. I learned, however, that Mr. Meciar feels differently. He avoided sitting down over a glass of beer or wine and discussing something that could not be directly linked to politics. He never accepted an offer, for instance, to spend a holiday with families of his colleagues. He was probably happiest with his family, and did not like company. I respected this. With other fellow cabinet members, however, I enjoyed closer contacts that carried over in our families, and have in most instances survived until now.

[Wolf] Just before Meciar's cabinet was recalled, Slovak Parliament Deputy Chairman Cernak said that people in Slovakia are scared to use the telephone and speak aloud in enclosed rooms. Were you scared, too?

[Kovac] Several deputies and members of the former cabinet shared with me their suspicions of being watched and of having their telephones bugged. Although I could not verify it, I considered it unnatural that constitutional officials should fear wiretapping. Later I learned that it was possible even in my case, but I did not follow through to find out who, wherefrom, and what. To answer your question, however, no, I was not scared.

[Wolf] Can you imagine the duo Meciar-prime minister and Kovac-president to work again in Slovakia?

[Kovac] Theoretically, everything is possible. As far as I know, however, it is unimaginable according to Mr. Meciar. He, himself, declared several times that if he accepted the commission to form the new government from my hands, he would immediately ask for my resignation. There have even been reports that a referendum should decide on my post. I am ready to accept the decision of my fellow citizens but insist that these rules must also be respected by others. So, I could imagine even such a situation as to which you referred but I have a feeling that Mr. Meciar cannot imagine it.

## Cabinet Approves Deficit Financing, VAT Rises

*AU2005203994 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 May 94 p 2*

[Antonia Vymazalova report: "Execution of Posts Under Control"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—Yesterday's 11th meeting of the government was chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac because Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik is paying a state visit to France. [passage omitted] The government approved a National Council of the Slovak Republic bill on the issue of state bonds. Its passage will make it possible to gain on the capital market the necessary financial resources to cover the state budget deficit on the Slovak Republic's state closing account for last year. The state bonds should be issued by the Ministry of Finance in a total amount of 23 billion Slovak korunas [Sk]. Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus said that, in view of the low level of liquidity of Slovak commercial banks, the bonds would not be issued all at once. A wide range of entities, from individuals to bank consortiums, will have access to them. [passage omitted]

The Ministry of Finance submitted to the government meeting a report on the use of budget resources in the second half of 1992 and in 1993. According to the report, individual government departments last year drew Sk248 million and in 1993 Sk543 million without justification. The ministries, particularly the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family, used the resources to purchase computers and passenger cars without preceding public tender. The relevant government members were asked to draw conclusions from the results of the inquiry within a month and to report about them to the government.

Draft amendments to the law on the value-added tax, the law on the administration of taxes and fees, and the law on changes to the system of territorial financial authorities as amended by subsequent regulations were added to the agenda of the government meeting. The submitted draft amendment to the law on the value-added tax changes the list of goods and services subject to the pertinent rate of value-added tax. According to Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus, under the amendment, the taxation of about 10 percent of goods that are currently subject to a value-added tax of 6 percent will be raised to 25 percent. The higher tax will not apply to any basic, vitally important goods. [passage omitted]

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 17 May on page 1 carries a 300-word interview with Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus by Ivan Stulajter entitled "Final Talks with IMF on Stand-By Loan Will Be Held in a Few Days." In the interview, which was conducted the day before the cabinet meeting, Filkus says that the planned increase in the number of items that are subject to a value-added tax of 25 percent, instead of 6 percent, should generate extra budget revenue of "Sk3.5 to Sk4 billion."]

## Arms Factories Excluded From Coupon Privatization

*AU2205175094 Bratislava SME in Slovak 18 May 94 p 2*

[CTK report: "I. Kovacik: Slovak Arms Factories To Not Be Included in Coupon Privatization"]

[Text] Bratislava—Slovak arms factories will not be included in the second wave of coupon privatization, Ivan Kovacik, director of the engineering section at the Slovak Ministry of Economy, said.

Proposals for the privatization of arms factories are to be submitted to the government only by the end of July, whereas the list of companies for coupon privatization is to be ready in the second half of May, he added. According to Kovacik, the volume of weapons production has dropped to one-tenth of the 1989 level. Arms factories' production worth 2 billion Slovak korunas, consisting entirely of spare parts, was exported last year.

Although more than 20 companies in Slovakia trade in weapons, their activity is not being coordinated in any way, he noted.

### Apr Unemployment Rate Drops to 14.17 Percent

*AU2205175194 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 May 94 p 16*

[TA SR report: "Fewer Unemployed"]

[Text] Bratislava—Labor offices in Slovakia registered 361,005 job seekers in April and the rate of unemployment reached 14.17 percent. According to information of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family, the number of job seekers declined by 9,428 since March and the rate of unemployment declined by 0.37 percent. A total of 40,166 school leavers were unemployed in April and 86,127 persons were collecting unemployment benefits. The districts with the highest rate of unemployment in April were Rimavska Sobota (26.01 percent), Spisska Nova Ves (22.68 percent), and Kosice-Environs (22.63 percent). The lowest rate of unemployment last month was in the districts of Bratislava-City (4.18 percent), Trencin (7.45 percent), and Kosice-City (9.75 percent). A total of 9,963 job vacancies were reported at the end of April, which represents a ratio of 36 job seekers per vacant job.

## Jeszenszky Views Government Change, Tasks

*AU2005190994 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 May 94 p 4*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Ivan Scipiades; place and date not given: "The Hungarian Democratic Forum Did Not Fare Badly"]

[Text] [Scipiades] How will you hand over the ministry?

[Jeszenszky] In harmony with the government decision, we have prepared a detailed report on our activity of four years and on the current affairs. After the second round of elections, when we know the party and officials providing the new ministers, we will personally present all the important issues, answer every question and, if necessary, make proposals regarding the tasks ahead.

[Scipiades] Personally, what will you do after the elections?

[Jeszenszky] I have a rather good place on the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] national list and most probably I will make it into Parliament. I think that it is my moral and political obligation to continue to deal with Hungarian foreign policy and to participate in Hungarian public life as an MDF politician.

[Scipiades] Do you intend to work in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Parliament?

[Jeszenszky] Yes. I would be a parliamentary deputy first of all, and naturally I want to continue my teaching career at the university.

[Scipiades] In view of the fact that you had the possibility of better comparing various foreign countries than your party's leaders, in your opinion, what is the reason for your party's defeat?

[Jeszenszky] It is not yet possible to evaluate the election results before the second round. Although I do not think that we can count on miracles and a complete turn in the results, the fate of the majority of individual deputies has not yet been decided. We hoped for a better result in the MDF; I expected a few percent more and a more balanced proportion among the various parties. I knew that a lot would depend on the mood of the last days and even last minutes, and this made the results of the first round impossible to forecast. At the same time, as a party, the MDF did not fare badly, because it has a firm basis and this could show in the second round too. I also believe that we can become a well-functioning and professional party in the coming period.

[Scipiades] Something that the MDF has not been so far.

[Jeszenszky] No, because we could not have such experiences and we were only a few people. The party's heroic age ended with the forming of its government. However, it was difficult for the MDF to get used to the role of "government party" and it was even more difficult to fulfill the tasks of such a party.

[Scipiades] Among the MDF leaders, you must have known best the extent to which the left was assisted in its victory in last year's Polish elections by the brutal anti-left propaganda carried out by the Polish right. The situation is extremely similar in Hungary. Have you drawn the attention of the MDF leadership to the dangers of such propaganda?

[Jeszenszky] I analyzed the Polish elections in detail to the MDF national committee, and I drew their attention to the lessons. As a party, the MDF understood these lessons. The phenomena you have mentioned did not characterize the central or local MDF campaign. Perhaps there were elements in the campaign that seemed to refute this, but these elements were definitely not the results of a strategic decision.

[Scipiades] To what lessons did you draw the attention of the MDF leaders?

[Jeszenszky] I drew their attention to the fact that it is not enough to emphasize our achievements, because the former Polish Government also achieved rather good results, just like the Hungarian Government. Actually, our less-than-expected results were not caused by our occasional mistakes; they were rather caused by a trend that is characterizing every former communist country: the people's exaggerated expectations, their lack of readiness to face the burdens, and continued expectations of a miracle. Thus, there is a historic trend here which seemingly was impossible to confront. Besides, the MDF fared better than the leading force of the Polish Government coalition in September 1993, and I regard this as a considerable achievement, just like the fact that the small parties that split from the MDF put up an insignificant presence in the elections. Thus, our stable basis of supporters understood the Polish lesson.

[Scipiades] Certain MDF foreign political experts are trying now to drive home the lesson that the Socialists and the Liberals will not be able to do different things either regarding Hungary's policy toward its neighbors and regarding the issue of ethnic Hungarians beyond our borders.

[Jeszenszky] I regard the criticism of the Socialists and the Liberals as only a campaign trick. In my opinion, in his first interview, Imre Szekeres, Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] deputy chairman, formulated their foreign policy program as this government did on many occasions in the past four years. Yes, I believe that other parties will not be able to represent other goals either. If they thoroughly analyze the criticism addressed to the MDF, they will find out we have done what could be done and what had to be done. If other parties can come to an agreement with our neighbors, an agreement that the MDF called upon in harmony with the ethnic Hungarians beyond our borders in 1989, I will only congratulate them. We are not to be blamed for the failure to achieve such an agreement.

[Scipiades] Is there anything you would do differently now with your present experience?

[Jeszenszky] Regarding the main lines and concrete steps, there is hardly anything that I would do differently now. Although it is possible that it would not have led to any results, we should have made more efforts for progress until the autumn of 1991, a time when a new age began after the big changes of 1989. If, for example, the Balladur plan had emerged then, it could have led to some results. Generally, our communication with the society was our weak point and, thus, we also failed to bring our foreign policy closer to the people.

[Scipiades] The interest was there on the part of the journalists.

[Jeszenszky] Yes. I am not talking about the dailies. There are still analytical commentators there, although fewer people read these columns. However, there are many more foreign policy programs in the foreign television programs, including much more analysis. A lot of ministers, politicians, and ambassadors are facing very well-trained journalists on CNN!

### Comments on MSZP Foreign Policy

*LD2105105294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] Geza Jeszenszky is worried that the Socialist Party [MSZP], which is leading in the elections, might want to change the direction of foreign policy. In a statement to a Ukrainian paper, the foreign minister mentioned as an example the fact that the Socialists, contrary to the six-party agreement, are urging a referendum about joining NATO. Geza Jeszenszky also criticized the MSZP for thinking that relations more balanced than the present ones are possible with Romania, Slovakia, and Serbia. According to the Hungarian Democratic Forum government member, the political directions and minority policies of these countries preclude rapprochement.

### Polls Forecast Second-Round Election Results

*AU2105133294 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 May 94 p 8*

[Text] The Szonda Ipsos Media and Opinion Poll Research Institute made the following forecast regarding the second round of parliamentary elections to be held on 29 May:

The most probable national participation in the elections will be around 50 percent (among the people eligible to vote).

Both the participation proportion and the number of votes per candidates could differ considerably from the expected figures if an event takes place in the remaining time that considerably affects the evaluation of the political parties that enjoy greater support, namely the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. [MSZP Chairman] Gyula Horn's car accident before the first round of elections was such an event. On the basis of this, it is possible that the current chances of the MSZP might change considerably if the public's ideas connected with the aforementioned accident become stronger. Such a change would also affect the chances of parties that can still count on obtaining individual mandates.

At the time of this forecast, namely 10 days before the elections, it is not yet fully known who will really run in the second round from among the candidates who made it to the second round. Withdrawals, the parties' call to the voters of candidates that have withdrawn from the race, and the campaign finish will also have an effect on the real election results and the differences in forecasts.

In its first prognosis regarding the second round of the elections, the Szonda Ipsos took into consideration the results of the first round as well as the trends and connections emerging from the opinion polls of recent months. We mainly considered the following factors among the research data: the voters' readiness to participate in the elections and the firmness and nature of their party affiliation; secondary preferences; the viewpoints and motivations of choosing among various individual candidates; the extent to which the candidates are known and their evaluation; and the personal factors that affect their chances. We modelled the voters' expected attitude in the second round of elections by comparing the composition of remaining candidates in various districts, the results they achieved in the first round, and the main parameters that determined the voters' decisions.

According to the results based on the aforementioned considerations and the stipulations of the electoral law, we calculated the mandates of the national list according to the parties. The parliamentary mandates obtained in the first round and the most probable individual and compensatory mandates show the expected composition of the new parliament according to our current knowledge.

In addition to its two mandates already obtained, the winner of the first round, the MSZP, is leading in 158 electoral districts and it will also emerge as the strongest parliamentary party after the second round. However, it will be unable to preserve its advantage in some of the electoral districts and turn this advantage into mandates. The extent of this drop is decisive regarding the possibility of obtaining the majority of parliamentary mandates or having to share two-thirds of the mandates with the SZDSZ. Regarding the possibility of an absolute majority, 10 days before the elections we cannot provide a firm answer, because the most probable figure of the MSZP mandates falls precisely on the critical border line. This means that, at the moment, we see equal chances of the MSZP falling behind the 50 percent by a few percent, and crossing this border by a few percent. Regarding the two-thirds border equally important for coalition and legislation considerations, the chances seem to be clear: There is a high probability of the MSZP and SZDSZ filling up at least two-thirds of the parliamentary places.

At the same time, we must also consider the fact that a large number of citizens have double preferences, their party commitment is generally loose, and their current approach to the stronger parties has proved more unstable than previously. Just like before the first round, this time too, various media effects lead to greater uncertainty and unpredictability than usual in the voters' decisions. Along with all this, it is justified that, together with a prognosis of the election results, we should provide the realistic values of difference from the most probable values.

The electoral law bans the publication of opinion poll results eight days before the elections; therefore, we will make our next forecast public on 29 May, immediately after the closure of the polls.

**The Expected Minimum and Maximum Mandates**

| | Individual mandates | All mandates |
|---|---|---|
| Fidesz [Federation of Young Democrats] | 0-1 | 20-21 |
| FKGP [Independent Smallholders Party] | 0-2 | 25-26 |
| KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party] | 2-6 | 20-24 |
| MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] | 12-23 | 45-54 |
| MSZP | 108-148 | 175-208 |
| SZDSZ | 14-38 | 67-86 |
| Agrarian Alliance | 0-1 | 0-1 |
| Entrepreneurs Party | 0-1 | 0-1 |
| Independent candidates | 0-2 | 0-2 |

## Poll Shows Horn Leading

*AU2205185694 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 May 94 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "According to the Modus, 33 Percent Wish Horn To Be Prime Minister"]

[Text] Modus Inc., which is actually not very well known for its political public opinion polls, has provided a flash report to the newspapers.

On 16-17 May, after the 1994 parliamentary elections, the Modus Economic and Social Marketing Advisory Inc. prepared a flash report on possible prime ministers. The survey was effected in four cities (Budapest, Miskolc, Gyor, and Szeged) on a sample of 520 people. The sample represented the full Hungarian population over the age of 18 according to gender, age, and education.

Modus was trying to find out whom people would welcome as prime minister. All the questioned people were aware that parliamentary elections had taken place on 8 May. The party preferences of the sample basically corresponded to the results of the first round of elections. The small differences compared to the first round can be attributed to the fact that the survey did not extend to all types of settlements.

In reply to the question "if the decision was up to you, to which politicians would you give the prime ministerial post," the following five names were mentioned in the first five places: Gyula Horn [Hungarian Socialist Party, MSZP] 33.1 percent, Gabor Kuncze [Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ] 23.7 percent, Peter Boross [Hungarian Democratic Forum] 9.4 percent, Jozsef Torgyan [Independent Smallholders Party] 6.5 percent, and Viktor Orban [Federation of Young Democrats] 6.5 percent. It is interesting that, of the MSZP's voters, 84.9 percent would like to see Horn as prime minister, and 73.1 percent of the SZDSZ's voters would like Kuncze as prime minister.

## Trade Union Leader Views Election Issues

*AU2005164094 Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 19 May 94 pp 15, 16, 17*

[Interview with Sandor Nagy, chairman of the National Federation of Trade Unions in Hungary, MSZOSZ, by Gabor Karsai; place and date not given: "Pragmatism Instead of Liberalism?—Pact Psychology—Interview With MSZOSZ Chairman Sandor Nagy, Member of the New, Probably Government Party MSZP Parliamentary Group"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Karsai] In the autumn of 1993 you considered it possible to form an election alliance with the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], the Republic Party, the National Democratic Federation [NDSZ], and the Agrarian Federation, but not with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], the MSZP's probable coalition partner. How will you find your place in the coalition of the two government parties that advocate a liberal economic policy?

[Nagy] I can only tell you my personal opinion, which does not—and should not—influence the MSZP's decision in choosing its partner.

As a trade union leader, I would not be happy if it was possible to describe the government's economic policy with one attribute, namely liberalism, because, in a simplified way, this would mean that the strong remain functioning while the weak fail. It would lead to conflicts if all this was even amplified by shock therapy ideas. As a matter of fact, in my view, the MSZP's economic policy is characterized by pragmatism rather than liberalism.

[Karsai] I assume that the acceptance of the MSZP's nevertheless liberal-type economic policy concept prepared by Laszlo Bekesi was a condition of you becoming a deputy candidate.

[Nagy] I have said many times that this program can be welcomed by the trade unions—naturally, together with the employment, welfare policy, and other programs linked to it. At the same time, no one asked me to countersign every line of this program for the trade unions, as if giving a blank check to the future government.

[Karsai] The MSZP finally accepted the fifth version of the Bekesi program. To what extent are the amendments a result of the agreement made with the National Federation of Trade Unions in Hungary [MSZOSZ]?

[Nagy] We did not participate in the detailed preparation of the program, but, naturally, our views were known to the MSZP's leaders. During the debates within the MSZP, the formulations that are more attractive to us were included in the program. For example, the final version is more socially sensitive to the problems of the groups of society that are in the worst position and it sees the reduction of unemployment as a direct goal. [passage omitted]

[Karsai] Do you agree with Bekesi's statement that it is impossible to give social democratic answers to the problems under the circumstances of the current crisis?

[Nagy] I do. This period is not good for social democratic values; nevertheless, they have to be represented. The most serious social problems have to be remedied.

[Karsai] Do you accept that the main goal of the next few years is to stop the deterioration of the financial balance and then to improve it?

[Nagy] It is possible that we have to say this because of the timing of the tasks. However, it is more attractive for me to say that we have to strive for establishing the conditions for a financial balance and a boom, for improving the employment, reducing inflation, and handling the social problems. More precisely, for optimizing these partially contradictory goals.

[Karsai] According to Bekesi, the reform if state finances will attract an annual 4 to 5 percent reduction of real incomes, and some half of this could be compensated for. What do these figures mean to you?

[Nagy] According to the MSZP's economic policy program, for the majority of society, the reform of state finances has to be accompanied by full compensation. If the government does not consider this feasible, then it will have to discuss this with the trade unions. It would be too early to talk about numbers. It is certain that, in our view, it is indispensable to stop the reduction of the real value of incomes within a foreseeable time and to increase the real value of the lowest pensions. [passage omitted]

[Karsai] In the autumn of 1993, the MSZOSZ published a statement on privatization in which it primarily emphasized the need for a more marked regard for employment considerations. Do you really feel that unemployment within the doors has already ceased to exist in the case of enterprises facing privatization, and they now structurally match the market requirements, in other words, further dismissals are unavoidable?

[Nagy] We are against the current privatization practice that strives for maximizing the—later actually wasted—revenue, ignoring the future fate of the enterprises. Therefore, in our view, buyers who guarantee an employment level and the increase of capital should be given preference.

[Karsai] On the one hand, I do not believe that buyers paying cash are generally not interested in the efficient future operation of the enterprises. On the other hand, the broader access of employees to ownership, which you also require, contradicts your concern about the future of the enterprises. The employees usually do not have any money to invest, and the delay of possibly necessary dismissals might lead to the bankruptcy of the whole enterprise.

[Nagy] It is a misunderstanding to conclude that we are in favor of dominant ownership by the employees just because we support the employees' share program. In our view, it is more important for the enterprise to be in good hands and for the people to get well-paid jobs than for them to become owners. At the same time, we would find it expedient if the relevant industry's trade union representatives could be present at privatization decisions. Many misunderstandings could be avoided purely by exchanging information. [passage omitted]

[Karsai] In recent months the current opposition parties and the MSZOSZ have advocated an economic-social pact. In your view, is there any difference in the issues the various trade unions wish to agree on?

[Nagy] At the moment we can only talk about initial and rather fluid intentions. Obviously, the economic problems we have already mentioned—namely nominal wages and pensions, inflation, taxes, the burdens of the reform of state administration, welfare benefits, and a predictable real value of incomes for many years—will all be topics. [passage omitted]

## Prime Minister Interviewed on Peasants Day

*LD2105220494 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1330 GMT 21 May 94*

[Interview with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak by Andrzej Jelenski and Marek Kassa on 21 May; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Jelenski] Mr. Prime Minister, we are talking on the eve of Peasants Day.

[Marek Kassa] It's a 100-year old tradition: Major celebrations this year will take place in Raclawice—and Raclawice means Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Bartosz Glowacki, and scythe-bearers. Which of those traditions and slogans we are discussing have continued to have significance today?

[Pawlak] In those years banners carried a slogan: "We feed and defend." Today, we write on our banners: "We manage, feed, and defend," which somehow reflects the essence of our actions today. [passage omitted].

This 200th anniversary of the Kosciuszko insurrection coincides with celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the peasant movement and the creation of a party that began to work in the age of partitions, when prospects of freedom were bleak. [passage omitted]

[Kassa] In your opinion as prime minister and leader of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], is there a chance to begin to think about the unification of the peasant movement, which continues to be split in Poland?

[Pawlak] To a large extent, the recent elections have prejudged the situation. Integration is taking place at the moment but in a different manner. I think that it is important that in our actions we seek respect for a different look at the future, at the way the peasant movement is organized. In the PSL we do try to pay attention to this matter, whereby different milieus can have a significant participation in activities and decisionmaking. This is connected with a broader cooperation with political and unionist milieus. Involvement of all the sides is required here. This is also an indicator for those politicians who work in rural areas, so that we can interplay together in this sphere of essential interests of both the countryside and Poland. During my foreign trips, I am often struck by the fact that in external relations in many countries I encounter an unequivocal stand, irrespective of the fact whether it is a government coalition or the opposition. In foreign relations they represent one stance. This should teach us both in internal and external relations.

[Kassa] Your government and you personally were heavily criticized for the organization of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the battle of Monte Cassino. President Lech Walesa said that the organization had failed and the current government had a different option. [sentence as heard] In this way he indicated that it was no accident that the organization of these celebrations was not a success.

[Pawlak] I think that we are concentrating on the emotional and technical side. I would begin with my own personal reflection on the anniversary itself. In my view, Monte Cassino shows that you can fight for Poland and for the future in different places in the world. [passage omitted] As far as the organizational and technical level is concerned, I am glad that different milieus became involved and I do not think that this pinching of the government should disturb anyone. It is important that in addition to what the government organized there were independent social initiatives. Everyone should become involved in such situations, events, meetings, and celebrations which concern our widely understood national tradition. We will soon have the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising, and I can say today that I would like to expect such activity in organizing it by various milieus but now, at the moment, when there is still time to organize many useful activities. I would only like to point out to the fact that the whole ceremony was organized by the organizational committee consisting of different structures and representatives of different milieus. The government supported it, first and foremost, from the financial side and granted over 3 billion zlotys for the organization of this ceremony securing the money for the former servicemen's' lodging and partly for transport. A very important and useful thing was the involvement of different local milieus. I could see that the former servicemen had a completely different approach to it.

In their approach you could notice a military approach going back to the time of the battle, irrespective of the fact whether the resources were sufficient or not. These celebrations were simply organized to the best of those people's abilities. And a paradoxical final of the meeting was when it started to rain heavily—the Italians say that this is a blessing from heaven—and maybe this rain reconciled all those present there and showed that you have to look forward on such occasions and look for the things that unite, especially in the face of such experiences and circumstances as the battle of Monte Cassino.

[Jelenski] Minister Michal Kulesza, the government plenipotentiary for administration reform, has resigned, accusing your government of halting local self-government reforms and aiming at the centralization of power. Does it mean that you are, using such an inappropriate word, the first brakeman of the Polish Republic?

[Pawlak] I value cooperation with Mr. Kulesza very much. I think that his different approach to these matters was also important at the time when we were seeking the best solutions, but I also value the opinion of local self-governments. This is, I suppose, where we should start: During the meetings with local self- governments you could not find such unequivocal opinions as regards the reforms Mr. Kulesza had been putting forward. Centralism is not the point here because we are far from it, and our suggestions that more prerogatives be transferred to provincial governments and give them greater say in coordination of regional administration prove that

we are aiming at the decentralization of decisions, that they be as close to the grassroots as possible. But neither do we want to transfer responsibility from local self-governments to the center, especially in a situation when they have no chance to fulfill their tasks. The situation in education can be a symbolic example, where, as you know, there was a decision by the previous political arrangement whereby the whole of issues connected with education be transferred to local self- government parishes as of 1 January. We treated this matter very democratically, I believe. Well, local self-governments were to take resolutions themselves if they wanted or did not want to take over schools. It turned out that in such a situation the opinion was not at all unanimous, because everybody knew the reserves and financial capabilities. [passage omitted]

[Jelenski] You have been working with Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and head of the Finance Ministry, for almost a month now. How does the cooperation look? Earlier on, fears were fairly widespread that you have, putting it mildly, fairly divergent views on the creation of the Polish economy.

[Pawlak] When I put forward a nomination to the president for the appointment of Deputy Premier Kolodko, there were even these reports about the fact that these contradictions reach back to the period of the creation of the coalition, which is not altogether true. And I think that a very important matter that is worth stressing is the fact that Deputy Premier Kolodko [words indistinct] approach to his activities. And I think that he has a similar approach. He speaks here of this formula of escaping forwards, and so the seeking of solutions through looking to the future. And we will surely be striving to resolve today's problems quickly—tomorrow there will be new problems, new tasks, new challenges. And this creates conditions, both for there to be a good and considerable level of activity, and this creates good conditions for many people, especially in the economic sphere, that of enterprises, for development, for a dynamic look ahead. And I would not hide the differences, but would also not treat it as a problem. The differences might be a motivating factor, if we are but capable of exploiting them so as to find better solutions.

[Kassa] Over the last few weeks it has been possible to observe that the tensions in relations between the government coalition, and the parliamentary coalition, and the president have decreased. Do you judge that this gives an opportunity for us muddling through up to the presidential elections with such an arrangement?

[Pawlak] I think that the relationships are multifaceted. It all depends on the matters we are dealing with. And, assuredly, there will still be various interesting events here in the future. But I hope that this approach—the seeking of compromises, the seeking of solutions—will bear fruit in the fact that we will be able to exploit these relationships and these often differing views for the seeking of such decisions and such activities as, nonetheless, perceive this complicated and specific situation in Poland [sentence as heard] And it seems to me that in this respect a view of this in such a way as to weed out all these decisions and stances that ensue from concern for the future is also necessary here, irrespective of which side they come from.

[Jelenski] The strikes by Solidarity are probably the most important component of political and social life in this country at the moment. In your opinion, has the government succeeded in putting an end to the last wave of strikes? And is an understanding with the trade unionists possible? Let us recall that a Solidarity demonstration is planned for Warsaw on 27 May, and that the union continues to claim that the government does not want an accord.

[Pawlak] The strikes are an important component, surely, of our public and political life, but surely not the only one of these important or most important factors. Here, the situations are very complicated, and a moment ago you spoke of relationships with the president. And within the coalition there are, after all, dependent on the matter at hand, various approaches at times, various methods and proposals for solutions. And if this was solely a matter of strikes and solely a matter of negotiations with Solidarity, then perhaps it would be easier to find solutions here that could satisfy everyone. But this situation is far more complicated. And I think that the strikes at the moment... [pauses] A tendency towards a certain calming of the situation is seen at the moment, as regards the strike situation. I am aware of the fact that in many concrete situations there are reasons and that there are causes that give conviction to many people that it is necessary to reach for very radical methods of protest. But also, many people have convinced themselves that a method for a solution of these difficulties is not so much protest as well-organized work, and the seeking of effective solutions, both for internal use and for expansion and activity outside. And as to the main problem, then I think that this main problem is the approach to the termination of the strikes. For, after all, as regards the postulates, and these detailed branch postulates, they have been signed in accords with both the brown coal sector and the hard coal sector. General postulates have become the subject of the decisions of the trilateral commission. A timetable for their implementation has been adopted, these main ones regarding the taxation of incomes are already being implemented. The matter of the control of remuneration—here there is a clear divergence as to the time and rate of departure from these administrative methods, but as to the aim there is full agreement. And the government has also made a clear declaration in this respect. The point is just that, in departing from one set of solutions we should not bring about economic destabilization.

So, if we look at problems instead of postures a good perspective may be seen.

There is a problem getting out of the protest calmly, without losing face. I think Solidarity had a few good opportunities to end the whole strike action at this stage

with some success. Now the situation is becoming a little blocked, because there is too much concentration on positions, so to speak, and too little regard for the problems; but I hope we are able to resolve the matter calmly. All that is needed here is an accommodating approach by both sides. It is difficult for us to accept the formula, that we enter into negotiations with Solidarity only, and leave aside the other trade unions, which have after all been taking part in these negotiations, in agreements—for in a moment we will have similar demands from the other trade union organizations. I think it is also a matter here of mutual respect in the trade union milieu. We must recognize the fact that there are several important trade union organizations, respect their position, their views in specific situations, and with this kind of approach there will be no problem with finding solutions.

I stress once again that to end the whole process positively, we need good will on both sides, and sometimes it is hard to find a good solution which would fully satisfy everybody, but I hope we will bring it about. [passage omitted]

### Outlines Talk With Delors

*LD2105090094 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0500 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] [Announcer] At a news conference, Prime Minister Pawlak pointed out the following problems:

[Begin Pawlak recording] We had the opportunity to brief President Delors on Poland's political and economic situation. We told him Poland puts the goal of integration with the EU first, but is not neglecting other actions streamlining cooperation, particularly regional cooperation, chiefly with the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and the CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Agreement]. We have intensified our work in this sphere. A very important part of the talks concerned the infrastructure in the broad sense, including communications, but also concerning the information infrastructure. These are the areas that will decide the future, on the conditions for the economy and our society's development. This enables us to look with greater faith at Europe's future. [end recording]

### Kulesza: Government Reverting to Centralism

*WS2305100794 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 May 94 p 3*

[Article by Krzysztof Gacek: "A Return of PRL?; Pawlak's Government Proposes Centralism"]

[Text]*The slowing down of the work on administrative reforms and the government's centralist tendencies are the reasons behind the resignation of Minister Michal Kulesza. According to the opposition, the government not only has no ideas for changes, but it outright reaffirms the ways of the old Polish People's Republic [PRL]. A majority of the parties is against abandoning the reforms.*

On Friday [20 May], Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak accepted the resignation of Minister Michal Kulesza from the post of the government's plenipotentiary for reforms of public administration. Kulesza announced his resignation from the post a week earlier in Poznan, during a Second All-Poland Conference of Territorial Self- Governments.

"The reason for my resignation is the current government's decision to slow down the work on reforming the country's administration"—Kulesza said this past Saturday. "The governing coalition has no plans for any kind of system-wide transformations of the state, it ignores self-governments, it is against powiats [small administrative units], and it strives to achieve centralized management."

According to the former minister, the government not only has no vision or plans for changes, but it outright proposes a return to solutions deriving from the PRL period. This is demonstrated by draft laws being prepared by Michal Strak, chief of the Council of Ministers' Office [URM], on URM, on governmental and territorial administration, on employees of state offices (an amendment to the 1982 law), and a superficial law on state civil service.

"I cannot reconcile a loyalty towards the government with a faithfulness toward a program of decentralization and reforms of public administration"—Kulesza says. "I do not want to be responsible for disassembling the program of reforms."

In a statement issued to journalists, the former minister said that decentralization is required in Poland because an overly centralized state is managed inefficiently, with taxpayer money being spent irrationally, and at times it is even outright wasted.

The current governing team is returning not just to the old personnel, but also to the old way of thinking, as exemplified by the practice of "booty sharing" which was introduced in the clerical sector of the territorial administration.

"There are many marvelous mayors and chief officers of groups of villages [wojtowie] in the Polish Peasant Party, whose managerial skills are as good as those of wojtowie coming form other parties"—Kulesza told journalists. "The misfortune is about the fact that is not they that are the intellectual basis for the party's leadership, and that it is an apparatus which strives only at strengthening its own position that has the upper hand in the party."

In Kulesza's view, the other participant in the coalition—the Democratic Left Alliance—does not transform its reform-oriented program into specific measures.

The former plenipotentiary expressed his concern over the subsequent fate of some draft laws which were prepared by his office—these concern public orders

[zamowienia publiczne], economic activities by gminas [small administrative units], and self-governmental appeal collegia.

### Defense Affairs Committee Holds First Session

*WS2005144794 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 20-22 May 94 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Ryszard Choroszy: "The First Session of the Defense Affairs Committee of the Council of Ministers; A Defense Document Is Being Prepared"]

[Text] At the first session of the Defense Affairs Committee of the Council of Ministers, chaired by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, problems related to the country's defense system were discussed. A pertinent document was presented by National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk. After it is supplemented with recommendations and conclusions, it will be discussed at the next government session on Tuesday [24 May].

The committee was set up by a 12 April government resolution. The government issued a positive opinion on the bill submitted by the chairman of the Council of Ministers concerning the establishment of a Standing Inter-Ministerial Team of the Committee for Defense Affairs of the Council of Ministers for Countering Threats and Other Crises. Its chairman will be the minister of internal affairs and his deputy—the minister of national defense.

It is worth recalling that in early May the Council of Ministers, at a secret session with the participation of President Lech Walesa, dealt with the document called "Problems of the Country's Defense System and Military Aspects of the Security Policy of the Polish Republic." As National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk said, at that time certain controversial problems were supposed to be resolved by the Defense Affairs Committee of the Council of Ministers before the document was submitted to the Sejm.

At the Thursday session the minister of national defense submitted the basic problems that needed to be resolved—those related to the country's defense system, such as problems linked to the division of powers between the Ministry of National Defense [MON] and the head of the General Staff of the Polish Army. The committee supported a variant which does not require any changes in the Small Constitution.

The submitted document concerning Poland's defense policy consists of three parts. The first one includes the legal foundations of the functioning of the Armed Forces, such as the amendment of the existing law or the preparation of a new law on the general duty of defending the Polish Republic, the bill on martial law and a state of emergency, on military discipline, on responsibility for material damages (now in force is the decree of 1955), and on the billeting of the Armed Forces; the document is now being reviewed by the individual ministries.

The solutions proposed in the bill will not only make it possible to resolve the most urgent problems of the cadres related to housing; they will also help the Army to manage more rationally the property that it owns.

Organizational changes in the Army would lie in the establishment of three types of forces: Land forces, naval forces, and air forces. They would be subordinated to the chief commander, who is now the head of the General Staff of the Polish Army, but in the future it will be the Chief Inspector of the Armed Forces. He is supposed to be responsible for the training and mobilization of the Army.

Another section of the document deals with concepts of the division of power between the minister of national defense and the head of the General Staff of the Polish Army. There are two options for resolving this issue. In the first option, the new office of the chief commander of the Armed Forces would be under the president, and the MON head would then fulfill controlling functions.

In the second option, the president would exercise supervision over the Army; he would not, however, interfere with the civilian section. Also, the National Defense Committee should be replaced by the National Security Office in such a way as not to make it necessary to change the binding Basic Law.

The document also includes a report on the technical condition of the Army. The MON leadership estimates that this condition is dangerous. As a consequence of the continuation of the present financial policy concerning the Army, our country may entirely lose its defense credibility. Already today the parameters of our equipment are worse than the parameters of the equipment of the Western Armies. This may also lead to the lowering of the Army's morale.

The authors of the document believe that it is necessary to adopt the principle that the condition for rational planning of expenditures of the defense system is prior knowledge about how much money needs to be spent on the Army. NATO states plan their expenses for three periods: for 10-15 years, for three to five years, and for one year.

In a situation when work is under way on the main points of the socio-economic policy until the end of 1997, and on the predicted expenditure in the budget sphere, including national defense, the decisions that are made in this period may greatly influence the financial condition of the Army, the level of armament, and the security of the state.

### Kaliningrad Official on Troops, Cooperation

*WS2005131594 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 20 May 94 p 6*

[Interview with Yuri Matochkin, head of the administration of Kaliningrad Oblast, by Wieslaw S. Debski; place and date not given: "Kaliningrad—A Special Town"]

[Text] [Debski] Cooperation between Kaliningrad Oblast and Polish voivodships located near the border is most commonly associated with two "roundtables" and several seminars concerning this topic. However, are there any concrete results of those discussions?

[Matochkin] We believe that "roundtables" are a good organizational form of keeping up cooperation in our region. They were necessary at the beginning of our cooperation—they created conditions for its foundation. The most important matter is the fact that both entrepreneurs and politicians have already been participating in talks at those tables; they have shared the necessary information with each other.

[Debski] More specifically, could you tell us how many joint Polish-Russian companies there are in the oblast and what the size of Polish investment there is?

[Matochkin] Twenty-eight percent of the trade is with Poland. We have 742 joint-venture companies; the largest portion of them, 275, are joint-venture firms with Polish companies.

You are also in a good position as far as investment is concerned; you occupy the second position, close behind the Germans, whose financial possibilities are certainly much greater, and we understand this. For us, Poland is attractive not so much for the size of its investment but because it has people who are energetic and entrepreneurial. It is they who are establishing companies in the oblast and conducting trade.

[Debski] Kaliningrad Oblast has been announced as a special economic zone. What does this mean to foreign businessmen?

[Matochkin] By virtue of the decision by the president and the government, the oblast has obtained a number of allowances:

—Tariff concessions—all merchandise coming to us is exempt from the import customs duty, and merchandise manufactured in the oblast is exempt from the export customs duty.

—Tax allowances—foreign companies or companies with mixed capital are exempt from taxes entirely or partially, for a specified period. The size of the allowances and the time of their being in force is found on a special scale that depends on the type of production.

[Debski] According to businessmen, however, not all of these allowances can be found in practice.

[Matochkin] I can say that tariff concessions are, in fact, already in force. Indeed, the tax system is not functioning as it should yet, also because there are still only a few companies that meet all of the conditions. For example, if a company wants to get a 50-percent reduction of its income tax, it must export 50 percent of its products.

We are now dealing with this problem—we are analyzing what results the allowances and reductions do or do not yield.

We are also analyzing the functioning of tariff concessions and their influence on the level of our prices. It turns out that the tariff concession for food, where the tariff to be paid is approximately 30 percent, decreases the price of food commodities by 10-15 percent. Thus, reductions are more beneficial to businessmen than to the inhabitants of the oblast. We understand, of course, that the profit rate must be higher here than in other regions of the Russian Federation; however, I do not think the proportions between the profit and the reduction of prices are correct.

All things considered, I can say that the special zone is functioning and yielding results, even though they are still not the results we would like to see. This is understandable. We have not been working in this system long. The most recent allowances and reductions came into effect in February 1994 and the first ones in late 1992. What is needed, then, is patience, all the more so because we want to further develop the concept of this zone.

[Debski] People in Poland are deeply concerned about the accumulation of troops in the oblast. Some say that there are as many as 200,000 of them. Why so many?

[Matochkin] I could ask those who say such things to prove that there are really 200,000.

[Debski] How many soldiers are there really, then?

[Matochkin] If we were to count the soldiers and the officers along with their families, then, if we assumed that each of the families consisted of three persons, we would estimate the figure at 200,000.

[Debski] Along with the families?

[Matochkin] Yes. Along with the families.

[Debski] However, you yourself said once that the military people constitute 10 percent of the oblast's population, which is 920,000 people.

[Matochkin] That was the case when I said this, a year and a half or two years ago. Since that time, we have been witnessing the process of limiting the armed forces. Standing units are being liquidated, such as the 24th Brigade of Rocket Cutters that has arrived here from Poland. Other units are being reduced in size—for example, divisions are being transformed into brigades. Moreover, each of the type of troops, apart from the border-protecting units, has too few soldiers. Simply, there are not enough draftees.

Russian Defense Minister Pawel Gratchev has announced that we are planning, or, more specifically, that we are discussing, the idea of establishing the so-called Kaliningrad defense region. It is supposed to save money through the liquidation of parallel services. Today both the Baltic Fleet and the 11th Army have

their own units of material supply, for instance, even though it would be cheaper if they were joint. This will lead to a further reduction in the number of troops.

[Debski] Is there a program for these reductions?

[Matochkin] Yes, there is.

[Debski] For how long is it scheduled?

[Matochkin] Until the year 2000 for the time being. The fact that your authorities keep repeating the figure 200,000 only proves how poorly your intelligence services are working. After all, it is not all that difficult to count soldiers.

The Russian Federation does not have the possibilities to develop its armed forces; it has no money for that. It can only maintain them on a level that is necessary for our defense.

I believe that the issue of the size of our armed forces is a political card that is being played on purpose. There have been proposals recently, such as the one by Algirdas Brazauskas that a demilitarized zone be set up here. But why? What are the arguments for this? Does the oblast threaten anybody?

[Debski] Apparently such are the feelings...

[Matochkin] If so, there must be further logic. If we demilitarize the oblast, will Lithuania and Poland be demilitarized as well? Otherwise, we will feel threatened.

[Debski] This is a fundamental problem in our relations as the Polish president sees it. Now, what problems can you see?

[Matochkin] There are no serious problems. We should try to cooperate more effectively, more openly; this cooperation should be more advantageous to both sides. I consider our relations to be normal. Cooperation with our Polish partners is very good.

There is only one matter we want to complain about. We have started building the Kaliningrad-Elblag highway, which, incidentally, was a Polish initiative. We will complete our portion this year; we will reach the border. And what next? When will the Poles complete the rest?

[Debski] So the issue of the Vistula Lagoon navigation is not a problem for you?

[Matochkin] It certainly is. But, all right, let us discuss problems if you want to. I believe that controversial issues should be resolved, such as the issue of the Vistula Lagoon or the highway. Who most wants to see the issue of the Visula Lagoon navigation resolved? You do. And who wants to see the construction of the highway completed? We do. Let us, then, help each other on both issues. Otherwise, it looks like we are relenting on the issue of the Vistula Lagoon, but you are not budging on the issue of the highway.

We can see three controversial issues:

a) The Kaliningrad-Elblag highway: What is needed is a clear answer to whether the Poles want to build it. If you have no money for it, we will look for some together. For example, we can visit the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development together and try to get the money there.

b) The Goldap-Gusiew border-crossing site: I want to know what our side will get out of it and what you will get. Poles know that this border crossing will increase traffic near the border. We want it to be the second variant of the road to Grodno—not through Lithuania.

c) The Vistula Lagoon: Right now, the situation at the lagoon is satisfactory as far as we are concerned. I understand, of course, that Poles have a differing opinion.

What we should do, then, is sit down and discuss all of these problems at the same time. In one issue we will make a concession, in another you will. On all of these issues, the time for discussions has ended: Specific problems must be resolved now.

Postscript: When we were saying goodbye to each other, Yuri Matochkin said: If President Lech Walesa does not believe the figures we submit, he might come and visit us. I am inviting him. We will show him all of the places, all of the units he wants to see. He may see for himself that 200,000 soldiers are not there.

## Serbian Attacks on Gorazde, Bugojno Reported

*AU2005120594*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 20 May within its regular 16-minute newscast carries several reports on the situation in the republic.

Kemal Halilhodzic reports that "the past 24 hours have been extremely difficult for Bugojno and parts of the free Donji Vakuf territory. The approximately 60 destructive long-range shells that the chetniks launched from the surrounding hills on the populated regions from the direction of Kupres and Donji Vakuf killed four people and seriously or lightly wounded 10, including four children.

Smail Terzic reports that "in the region covered by the 7th South Operations Group, the village of Sije has been exposed to the fiercest attacks. During almost all of last night, the aggressor shelled this village and the defense lines with mortar bombs. The material damage is huge." Further on in the report, Terzic says that "the enemy is attacking these free territories with all available weapons and artillery pieces in order to reach the Doboj-Teslic road. However, the defense lines are increasingly firmer and more stable by the day"

A report by the 4th Corps Information Service says that "last night and the early morning hours in the zone covered by the 4th Corps were somewhat calmer than during the previous day, although on several occasions, the chetniks fired all kinds of artillery pieces, with the barrels directed at [names indistinct]. Some provocative activity has been registered on the Mostar battlefield as well. A calmer start to the day, with only occasional aggressor's fire from antiaircraft weapons on the Konjic battlefield in the region of (Djelomici) and (Glasicevo), does not mean that the chetniks have given up the shelling of residential districts in the zone covered by the 4th Corps. These areas have been shelled almost incessantly lately; artillery assaults are being launched suddenly, therefore the general danger alarm is still in force in Konjic.

"Along the lines of separation between the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], there have been no incidents during last night and this morning, unlike the previous day when, on several occasions, HVO extremist snipers fired on our fighters' lines on the Mostar battlefield. Frequent explosions coming from the Dubravska Plateau have also been registered and it seems that HVO extremists have been blowing up the remaining Bosniak houses, which means that there are still some hotheads in the HVO ranks who oppose the signed agreements."

Studio Announcer Aleksandra Hafeti reads report of the Gorazde Press Center that "the protected zone of Gorazde has still been exposed to aggressor's attacks with shells and anti-aircraft weapons."

## Serbs Agree To Withdraw Police From Gorazde

*AU2105194194 Paris AFP in English 1929 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] Sarajevo, May 21 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces agreed Saturday to pull 150 armed policemen out of the eastern town of Gorazde, a month after the expiry of a NATO deadline ordering the complete withdrawal of Serb forces from the town. Under the agreement, due to come into force at 6:00 p.m. (1600 GMT) Sunday, the armed Serbs will pull back from a UN-declared three kilometre (two mile) exclusion zone around central Gorazde, UNPROFOR spokesman Major Rob Annink said here.

"The Bosnian Serb forces have pledged to redeploy all armed personnel outside the exclusion zone," Annink said. The Serbs also agreed to "cease all hostilities around Gorazde" and guaranteed UNPROFOR "complete freedom of movement" in the zone, he said. UNPROFOR said 150 armed Serbs had remained in Gorazde after the expiry of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation ultimatum at the end of April. Serb sources said the men had remained as "policemen" to protect the town's Serb population. Moslem sources said they were soldiers who had changed uniform.

## UN: Serbs Fail To Honor Accord

*AU2305121194 Paris AFP in English 1146 GMT 23 May 94*

[Text] Sarajevo, May 23 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb commanders failed to pull 150 armed policemen out of the eastern town of Gorazde this weekend, as agreed, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) reported Monday [23 May]. The Serbs' failure to abide by the Gorazde accord could torpedo the resumption of peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, obervers warned.

"There is no change in the deployment inside the three-kilometre (two-mile) total exclusion zone," UNPROFOR spokesman Rob Annink said Monday, referring to a UN-declared exclusion zone around the valley town, which is populated mostly by Moslems, including thousands of refugees from Serb "ethnic cleansing" of nearby villages.

"It is a disappointment that the Bosnian Serb army did not react to the agreement," Major Annink said.

Under the agreement signed Saturday between Lieutenant General Sir Michael Rose, the commander of UN troops in Bosnia, and Bosnian Serb military leader Manojlo Milovanovic, the Serbs were to redeploy the 150 men outside the exclusion zone by 6:00 p.m. (1600 GMT) Sunday. The Serbs also pledged to guarantee the UNPROFOR freedom of movement within a 20-kilometre (12-mile) heavy weapons exclusion zone around Gorazde.

Annink said the Serbs told UN military observers that they would not be granted freedom of movement within the exclusion zone until 570 Serbs were allowed to leave

the town and the mainly Moslem Bosnian army withdrew from a hill overlooking Gorazde. He said the overall situation in Gorazde was stable Sunday with Bosnian Serb and Bosnian army troop movements reported northwest of the town.

### Muslim Side Fails To Sign Cease-Fire Annex

*LD2205230194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2232 GMT 22 May 94*

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)—The UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] command in former Bosnia-Herzegovina has officially informed the republic of Srpska army's main headquarters that the Muslim side did not sign an annex to the agreement on the cease-fire and cessation of hostilities within the 3-km zone around Gorazde which was supposed to come into effect at 1800 this evening. This was reported by the information service of the republic of Srpska army's main headquarters late this evening.

According to a public statement received by TANJUG, the information service points out that the annex to the agreement was signed by the republic of Srpska army and UNPROFOR representatives but that it cannot be implemented because the Muslim side rejected it. "By refusing to sign the agreement mentioned above, the Muslims have assumed all responsibility and once again confirmed their military option for resolving the crisis on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," the statement issued by the information service of the main headquarters of the republic of Srpska army said in conclusion.

### Army Comments

*LD2205141594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 May 94*

[Text] In response to the agreement on the demilitarization of the exclusion zone 3 km east of the Drina River, which UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and the Serbian aggressor's side signed on 21 May, the press center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has been authorized to announce the following:

Representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army did not take part in the signing of the agreement, although an offer was made to them. They were not obliged to take part because the agreement is not in line with UN Resolution 913 and NATO's ultimatum, which clearly specify the obligations assumed by UNPROFOR and the Serbian aggressor side. This makes it clear to UNPROFOR representatives that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will be ready to discuss the implementation of UN Resolution 913 and NATO's ultimatum in the future.

The situation in the field shows that the Serb aggressors have not fulfilled all obligations specified in the above mentioned documents. Among other things, they have not withdrawn military units and weapons from the 3-km exclusion zone around the town center. Furthermore, the aggressors' heavy weapons are still in the 20-km zone around Gorazde and are not under UNPROFOR's control. There are one tank, six howitzers, seven [word indistinct], one self-propelled weapon, one 100-mm cannon, and three antiaircraft guns in the 20-km zone. The complete evacuation of the wounded has not been made possible, and living conditions of the residents in the protected area have not improved.

We stress that representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army [break in reception] are ready to discuss the resolution of the situation on the Bosnia-Herzegovina battlefields and other decisions that will be based on UN and NATO resolutions.

### Serbs: Cease-Fire Observed

*LD2305105694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1026 GMT 23 May 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 23 (TANJUG)—BBC radio on Monday quoted U.N. sources as saying that the Bosnian Serbs are fully respecting the ceasefire agreement for Gorazde, Muslim enclave in southeast Bosnia, which the Muslims refused to sign. The representatives of the Bosnian Serbs and the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) on Saturday signed an annex to the agreement on a ceasefire and the cessetion of hostilities in the region of Gorazde. But the Muslims refused to sign it, as confirmed by the UNPROFOR Command for Bosnia.

In a program monitored in Belgrade, BBC radio cited an unnamed senior U.N. official in Sarajevo that the respect of the ceasefire in Gorazde 'enables the deployment of the U.N. troops in areas from where the Serbs have withdrawn.' The only potential problem is the attempt of the local Muslims to use the withdrawl of the Serb forces and sieze the regions they previously controlled, which is not allowed under the relevant U.N. resolutions, the radio said.

It quoted UNPROFOR as saying that armed Bosnian Serb police has pulled out of the northern part of Gorazde to 3 km from the exclusion zone, while the remainder of the Serbs in the eastern parts should withdraw within the next 24 hours. The Bosnian Serbs in late April pulled out their heavy weapons to 20 km and the infantry to 3 km away from the centre of Gorazde with the aim of reaching a peaceful solution to the crisis caused by the Muslims who launched a major offensive from this 'U.N.-designated safe area' in March.

Only the Bosnian Serb police remained in the Serb villages near Gorazde to allow the local inhabitants to safely return to their homes. Some 15,000 Muslims from Gorazde, which should have been demilitarized last May, in late March launched an offensive on Serb territories. In the face of a total defeat from a Serb counterattack, NATO on April 10-11 bombed Serb positions close to this town.

### Muslims, Croats Attack Serbs Near Brcko

*LD2205185994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1852 GMT 22 May 94*

[Text] Brcko, May 22 (TANJUG)—Positions of Bosnian Serbs in northern Bosnia were attacked on Sunday [22 May] by Bosnian Croats and Moslems, the Bosnian Serb army (VRS) sources reported. The forces of Bosnian Croats from the area of the Croat enclave of Orasje in the Sava valley northwest of Brcko opened fire from mortars and infantry weaponry. The Croat attack caused no effects on the Serb side and the Serb units did not respond.

The forces of Bosnian Serbs also did not respond to fire opened towards them on Sunday by Moslem troops in a location 8 km southwest of the Serb town of Brcko in the Sava valley. A narrow strip of Serb territory in northern Bosnia which links the eastern and western parts of the Bosnian Serb republic (R.S.) is only a few kilometers wide near Brcko.

The Moslems have been for weeks amassing their troops to the south, and the Bosnian Croats to the north of the corridor in an attempt to cut it. The Republic of Croatia has also been concentrating its troops on the northern side of the corridor, on the Croatian bank of the Sava. Both Moslems and Croats have for days continued with offensive actions against the Serb positions and settlements in spite of the presence of U.N. observers. Brcko was shelled in such an action on Saturday evening, when 5 civilians were wounded, including a one-year-old girl.

While Sunday was completely calm in Sarajevo, at the far west of Bosnia, in the Cazin Krajina region, inter-Moslem clashes between the followers of the radical Moslem authorities in Sarajevo and those of Fikret Abdic do not stop. Abdic advocates peace with the Serb and Croats. The Moslem Radio Sarajevo said that Abdic's followers, who proclaimed the autonomous province of western Bosnia, from early morning were opening fire from infantry and artillery weapons along all lines on the positions of the forces loyal to Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic.

### Serbs Demand Investigation

*LD2205141194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1355 GMT 22 May 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Brcko, May 22 (TANJUG)— Colonel Slavko Guzvic of the Bosnian Serb Army on Sunday insisted with the command of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina to publish an official report about the attack on the Serb town of Brcko in northern Bosnia on Saturday [21 May]. A team of the U.N. military observers in Brcko, headed by British Captain Sean Fawcett, on Saturday inspected the scene of the attack and established from where it had come, Colonel Guzvic told TANJUG.

While inspecting the place where the first shell had landed, Captain Fawcett and his team found the remnants of a rocket fired from a multiple rocket launcher which had visible Croatian Army markings on it. Five people were seriously wounded, including a one year-old girl, in the simulataneous shelling of Brcko from the Croat-held village of Vucilovac eight kilometres west of Brcko and from the territory of neighbouring Croatia.

Brcko is situated at the neck of the strategic corridor along the Sava river which links the western and the eastern parts of the Bosnian Serb republic. The material damage from the latest attack is considerable.

Captain Fawcett declined to comment on the attack and said he would submit a detailed report on it to his command.

### Serbs Reportedly Violate Sarajevo Cease-Fire

*AU2005191194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] In the Sarajevo area the aggressor violated the cease-fire today with small arms fire and light artillery. He fired from Nedzarici at Mojmilo and Dobrinja, from Brekin Potok at Kosevo stadium and Jezero, and with an antiaircraft gun and machine gun from (Orlovac) at the Kosevo stadium and Grdonj, while an M-84 machine gun was firing indiscriminately from Kromolj at Brekin Potok and Pionirska Dolina.

By the way, in the 100 days since the [NATO] ultimatum, the Serb aggressor has violated the cease-fire exactly 1,375 times. The consequence of this is 11 killed and 106 wounded members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps.

Today started on the Ilijas front with artillery attacks by the chetniks. One tank and three howitzers from (Ubare) and mortar batteries from Srednje fired at Korita and Jasen. Two howitzers from (Medojevici), and a tank and howitzer from (Nabozici) fired all day at Jasen and Meskovac. Infantry attacks followed. On two occasions the chetniks attempted to break through our defense lines at Jasen and (Polom), but without any success. In these attacks the aggressor suffered serious losses, with about 20 chetniks killed and a number of others put out of action. Despite the serious losses the chetniks did not abandon the attacks. They had attempted a further three breakthroughs at Jasen by late afternoon, while other parts of the front were exposed to artillery attacks. These are still under way but with reduced intensity.

This has been a statement by the 1st Corps Information Service.

### UN Spokesman Views Cease-Fire Violations

*AU2005124394 Paris AFP in English 1158 GMT 20 May 94*

[by Pascal Barollier]

[Text] Sarajevo, May 20 (AFP)—Sarajevo marked its 100th day of a ceasefire to the sound of steady gunfire Friday. UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Rob Annink noted that between 100 and 200 violations of the truce were recorded daily.

The 100-day anniversary of the ceasefire agreement signed February 10 by Bosnia-Herzegovina's warring parties was greeted overnight Thursday with "the usual ceasefire violations" in the capital consisting this time of heavy machine-gun fire, the United Nations said.

The shooting lasted for more than an hour in the capital's Serb- held downtown neighborhood of Grbavica. Major Annink added, however, that the violations did not amount to a breach of the 20-kilometre (12-mile) heavy weapons exclusion zone imposed by the United Nations around Sarajevo. He said the ceasefire violations were perpetrated with "rocket launchers, hand grenades, mines, machine-guns and small arms," which, he added, "do not pose a direct threat to the city." But although the city itself may not be threatened by the continuous violations, several of its residents seek treatement for bullet wounds at local hospitals each day. Soldiers from both camps—the mainly Moslem Bosnian Army and Bosnian Serbs—are also killed daily by sniper fire.

Although the UNPROFOR says that the exclusion zone forbidding heavy weapons within a 20-kilometre (12-mile) radius around Sarajevo is generally being respected, it admits to various violations in that area. Annink said the Serbs had deployed six heavy guns inside the zone along with several tanks which were not placed under UN control at various collection centers. The Serbs managed to sneak one of the tanks into Grbavica earlier this month as it was being transported from Bosnian Serb headquarters at Pale.Annink said the UNPROFOR did not believe the heavy weapons were a threat to the city and preferred "negotiation to force" in resolving the matter.

In other developments Friday, Annink said the Bosnian Army was continuing its offensive along several fronts in central Bosnia. He said UN peacekeepers counted 140 explosions Thursday in the region of Kladanj, located midway between Sarajevo and the northern town of Tuzla.

The situation was also tense in the regions of Travnik and Turbe where Annink said the Bosnian Army burned a Roman Catholic church. He did not have any further details on the incident, but Roman Catholicism is the religion of Bosnia's Croats, who engaged in bitter fighting aginst Moslem troops earlier in the war but recently reached an agreement to set up a Moslem-Croat federation in the former Yugoslav republic.

The latest fighting came as several Western countries threatened this week to pull their troops out of ex-Yugoslavia unless there was a breakthrough in the peace process. France, Spain and Britain, together supply around 35 percent of the 33,253 UNPROFOR troops stationed in the former Yugoslavia.

### Croat-Muslim Agreement 'Mostly' Respected

*LD2105143394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] The Muslim-Croat peace agreement is mostly being respected in central Bosnia. However, HINA [Croatian news agency] has learned from the command of the HVO [Croat Defense Council] Vitez operational zone that certain events in the field warn about resistance to the peace agreement and the establishment of the Bosniak-Croat federation. An official government delegation of the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosna, headed by Vice Prime Minister Perica Jukic, was last night harassed and threatened at gunpoint between Gornji Vakuf and Novi Travnik, an area under the control of the armed forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Another official HVO delegation was stopped and mistreated in the same area yesterday.

### Muslims, Croats Trade Accusations of Attacks

*LD2105132294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1242 GMT 21 May 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 21 (TANJUG)—Tension between Croats and Moslems in northern Herzegovina is rising again, with the two sides exchanging accusations for a series of armed incidents. Two Bosnian Croat soldiers were shot dead on a local road northeast of Prozor on Friday, Croatian Radio on Saturday quotes U.N. sources as saying. The Moslems, on the other side, say the Croats are to blame for renewed tension between the two sides. Moslem-controlled Radio Sarajevo says that Bosnian Croat forces on Saturday sprayed Moslem positions in the Neretvica River valley with small arms fire.

The same source reports heavy Croat troop concentrations in the area of Doljani near Jablanica, which serves as a buffer zone between the Moslem and Croat troops in northern Herzegovina.

Bosnian Croats and Moslems, erstwhile allies in the war against the local Serbs, first started fighting each other in northern Herzegovina in October 1992. The conflicts escalated in full-size war in the spring of 1993.

After a year of fierce fighting for territories with mixed populations in southern and central Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Moslems and Croats yielded to U.S. pressure and on March 18 signed an agreement to form a binational federation. In practice, however, the two sides have renewed hostilities and their federation agreement seems to be nothing but a dead letter.

### Mosque Razed in Croat-Controlled Vitez

*LD2105160994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1515 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] Banja Luka, May 21 (TANJUG)—A mosque in the Moslem settlement Grbavica in the central Bosnian town of Vitez was levelled with the ground on Friday evening, on the eve of the Moslem religious holiday of Kurban Bairam, the Croat radio of Herzeg-Bosnia reported on Saturday [21 May].

The destroyed mosque was in the area controlled by the Bosnian Croats Army (HVO). There are no details about

perpetrators but an investigation is expected, the announcement said. 'This terrible incident, which happened on the eve of the major Moslem religious holiday of Kurban Bairam, has deteriorated the already tense relations between Moslems and Croats in the area of Vitez,' the Croat Radio said. Only a few hours before explosive was planted, Moslem troops were celebrating the coming of Kurban Bairam by shooting on the positions of a HVO brigade in the area of Vitez, the radio said.

The Bosnian Croats and Moslems were fighting fiercly from last spring (over territories with mixed population in central and southern Bosnia-Herzegovina) to early February, when, under strong U.S. pressure, they signed an accord on their federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina supposed to grow into a confederation with neighbouring Croatia.

Relations between Croats and Moslems are, however, still very strained, and clashes and incidents do happen increasingly often. Apart from Vitez, mosques had been destroyed by Bosnian Croats in Zepca, Kiseljak, western Mostar, and Livno, all in the Croat republic of Herzeg Bosnia.

## Joint Command of Army, HVO Issues Statement

*AU2005133194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] A joint statement issued by the Joint Command of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] points out that the work of the Joint Command so far is characterized by a high degree of accord on the most significant matters on which the successful establishment of peace between Bosniaks and Croats depends.

Members of the Joint Command completely concur in assessments that armed conflicts between the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council are not in the interest of Bosniaks and Croats and that significant results have already been achieved in implementing the Washington agreement, but that the basic problem lies in the fact that [word indistinct] of the Army of Bosnia- Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council in central Bosnia and Herzegovina have the character of armed conflicts of the formations. There are identical assessments regarding the need to begin work on bringing the forces of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council onto positions that would mean a real peace between Bosniaks and Croats. This would be achieved by deploying units in the barracks, training grounds, and the like.

Members of the Joint Command are also in agreement about adopting measures that would improve the situation in Mostar, as well measures to establish free movement along all roads under the control of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council. The greatest attention will be devoted to the measures of protecting roads from all forms of threat, particularly robbery [word indistinct].

All activities of the Joint Command, in conformity with the [word indistinct] built and coordinated assessments, will be performed with a view to having the most complete peace possible between Bosniaks and Croats, especially to prevent distrust and suspicion about the political will for implementing the agreements in practice. The readiness to implement the measures ensuing from the plan of activity of the Joint Command will be the best indicator of the degree [word indistinct] of the political will.

This is stated in the joint statement by the members of the Joint Command of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council signed by Brigadier General Fikret Muslimovic and Army General Ante Roso.

## Bosnian Croats Introduce Currency of Croatia

*LD2205131394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1231 GMT 22 May 94*

[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—The government of the Bosnian Croat republic of Herceg-Bosnia [as received] has decided to introduce a new currency as of June 1—the kuna. The kuna, which is the national currency of neighbouring Croatia, will replace the Croatian dinar, which has so far been in circulation in Herceg-Bosnia too.

Despite strong protests, the government in Zagreb has decided to reintroduce the kuna, the national currency of the Nazi puppet independent state of Croatia which existed during World War Two. The opponents of the Croatian Government's decision argue the kuna will only link Croatia with its infamous Nazi past. The Moslem government in Sarajevo has still not reacted to Herceg-Bosnia's move.

After almost a year of fierce battles, Bosnian Moslems and Croats in mid-March yielded to U.S. pressure and signed a federation agreement. The constitution of their binational state in Bosnia, which should subsequently form a confederation with neighbouring Croatia, envisages a single federal currency.

## General on Croat View of Federation Defense

*AU2205152594 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 94 p 8*

[HINA report: "The Home Guard as a Basis"]

[Text] Sarajevo—"The Joint Command of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is organizing a contemporary type of defense based on the examples set forth by the military organization of West European countries with the ultimate aim of joining organizations such as the 'Partnership for Peace'. As a federal army, we could be among the first to be accepted into this organization," General Ante Roso, HVO representative in the Joint Command of the Federation that has recently become operational in Sarajevo, told Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE on Thursday [19 May].

According to General Roso, the Croatian side has proposed that the home guard be the basis of the Federation's future defense. "In this way, neither would the Croats disarm the

Bosniaks, nor would the Bosniaks disarm the Croats." The other component of the defense system would be the regular army, in which 18 to 25 year olds—male and female—would serve a 10 to 12 month term, said General Roso, and added that, for example, a student could serve his or her term in some institute, because "carrying arms is not the only way to serve in the army...."

The third component of the Federation's defense would be professional brigades for interventions and border units. The Joint Command of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in Sarajevo is for the time being not making any decisions on combat activities, and it does not have the authority to directly command the forces. The Command creates conditions for maintaining the current cease-fire, the safety of communications, and the restoration of trust between people, said General Roso.

### Krajisnik: No Federation on Serbian Territory

*LD2205181694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1806 GMT 22 May 94*

[Text] Srbinje, May 22 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Parliament President Momcilo Krajisnik said on Sunday that the Bosnian Moslems and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina could make agreements and tailor the future federation to suit them, but they could not do that on Serb ethnic territories.

The Serbs would not allow a Moslem-Croat federation to be formed on their own land, Krajisnik said in Srbinje (formerly Foca) at a local ceremony. The Bosnian Moslems and Croats on March 18, without the participation of the Serb side and under strong U.S. pressure, signed an accord on a dual federation which would later enter a confederation with neighbouring Croatia. A federation was set up in this way, with no clearly defined territory.

Work is in progress on settling the issue of territorial division in Bosnia. In Vienna, the Moslems and Croats agreed on a proposal allocating 58 per cent of the territories to a Moslem-Croat federation and 42 per cent to the Serb side, but this was not accepted by the Serbs. According to the prewar land registers, the Bosnian Serbs owned 64 per cent and after the two-year old war they now control about 70 per cent of the Bosnian territory.

### Serbs Dissatisfied With Partition Plan

*LD2105165494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] Novi Sad, 21 May (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the People's Assembly of the Serb republic, said in an interview for DNEVNIK of Novi Sad—to be published tomorrow—that the latest arrangement by the West on the division of Bosnia was detrimental to the Serbs. "How else would one interpret the 51-49 agreement given that Serbs own 64 percent of the entire territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and control even more land than that?, asked Krajisnik.

"The proposed percentage could in the future create a real chaos with far-reaching consequences, and the Serb republic parliament will discuss everything in detail at its next session," he announced.

The world has finally realized that the former Bosnia-Herzegovina must be divided, Krajisnik said, warning that the Serb republic would not allow its territorial integrity to be disturbed.

Commenting on reports of a possible withdrawal of the peace-keeping forces, Krajisnik said that the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] should remain in this former Yugoslav republic, but that it must adopt a completely neutral stand which, unfortunately, has not been the case so far as the UNPROFOR has even openly been siding with the Muslims, Krajisnik said.

### Croatian 'Bandits' Block Convoy Bound for Tuzla

*AU2005144694 Paris AFP in English 1423 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, May 20 (AFP) - Bosnian Croat "bandits" have blocked a convoy of about 100 trucks loaded with humanitarian food aid south of Sarajevo for the last two days, a Bosnian military spokesman said Friday [20 May]. Colonel Ekrem Advic said the convoy, with 200 tonnes of food supplies, had been heading to the hard-hit Tuzla region in northeastern Bosnia. He said the assailants holding it up near Grude, south of Sarajevo, were Mafia-like "criminals" and said Croatian President Franjo Tudjman "should get rid of them."

The Grude region is a stronghold of Croat extremists who back Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban. The spokesman said should the recent accord for a federation between Croatia and Bosnia be applied, the assailants "would face execution." He was referring to an agreement reached this month in Washington planning for a federation to end conflict between Bosnians and Croats, erstwhile allies in Bosnia against the Serbs. The accord in time calls for a joint army.

### Serbs Force UK Officers' 'Apology' at Gunpoint

*LD2005190994 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1837 GMT 20 May 94*

[By Rebecca Maer, PA News]

[Text] A British Army officer was forced at gunpoint by Bosnian Serbs to read a filmed confession which was shown on local television, a United Nations spokesman said today. The Ministry of Defence [MoD] tonight confirmed details of the incident at the notorious Rogatica checkpoint near the Muslim town of Gorazde, but said it was not officially releasing the name of the officer involved. The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in former Yugoslavia said the incident happened a week ago when Major Tony Randall of the Royal Engineers and five soldiers were detained at the checkpoint for 10 hours by 40 Bosnian Serb troops.

Their weapons were taken and they were forced to sit with hands on head at gunpoint. Then Major Randall was forced to read an apology to the self-declared Bosnian Serb republic of Srpska after local troops alleged his convoy failed to stop at the checkpoint. They were eventually released unharmed but the only confiscated weapon to be returned was the Major's pistol, minus ammunition. The confession was screened on local Serb-controlled television near Sarajevo on Thursday night and was video taped by REUTERS Television.

The MoD added that UNPROFOR made an official complaint to the Bosnian Serb Army and asked for the weapons back. A Ministry spokesman said the British convoy, a Land Rover and two lorries, passed through an unmanned checkpoint as they left Gorazde having obtained prior clearance.

The soldiers attempted to make contact with local forces and waited 20 minutes but received no response. They then moved on to a second point where they were stopped, searched and disarmed. The Major was forced to write a statement of apology but when this failed to satisfy the Serbs he was made to rewrite it and read it out in front of a camera.

Reuters quoted Major's "statement" as saying: "I realise by my actions I have insulted the Rogatica Brigade, the army of the Republic of Srpska and the state of the republic of Srpska." He added that "in my rush to get through the checkpoints I was both rude and incautious".

UNPROFOR spokesman Major Dacre Holloway dismissed the dictated apology and said there had been many problems at this checkpoint, including the hold-up for almost a week of a convoy from French charity Medicins Sans Frontieres. "Our understanding is that the Major believed he and his men were in danger and the price to pay by writing this statement was relatively small," Major Holloway said, adding that it was not the first time this had happened to UN forces at checkpoints in Bosnia.

—Earlier this month 168 soldiers in the Duke of Wellington's Regiment were delayed at the Rogatica checkpoint while trying to make their way to Gorazde.

### Karadzic Denies 'Surrender' of Mt. Ozren

*AU2005204794 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 94 p 5*

[B.M., Lj.C. report: "Mt. Ozren Remains Serbian"]

[Text] "Mt. Ozren will remain forever Serbian," were the words that Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, spoke two nights ago in Vozuca, a village from which Serbian forces are defending the approach to the mountain's southern slopes.

Dr. Karadzic was accompanied by General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serb republic army, General Momir Talic, commander of the 1st Krajina corps, and Mr. Vasilije, bishop of Zvornik-Tuzla. Dr. Karadzic also visited Doboj.

In stressing that "Mt. Ozren will remain forever Serbian," Dr. Karadzic was effectively denying rumors that the republic of Srpska leadership had accepted the surrender of this territory to the future Muslim-Croat federation. These rumors about the alleged surrender of Mt. Ozren have been particularly widespread after the fall of Vijenac, one of the most important strategic points on the mountain. Vijenac was captured by the 117 Lukavac Brigade of the Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina Army during a brief clash, in which most of the members of the Krnjinska Brigade did not even try to defend it properly!

According to the reports of the Muslim radio of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the capture of Vijenac must have been one of the greatest, if not the greatest, victory of Alija Izetbegovic's army so far in the war against the Serbian forces. The Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 2nd Corps claims that its troops on Vijenac captured 70 and killed 21 fighters of the Krnjinska brigade. According to Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina Army captured a tank, a Bofors, eight mortars, several antiaircraft guns and some machine guns.

In capturing Vijenac, the Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is now in a position to attack Serb villages on the eastern slopes of Mt. Ozren, particularly Orahovica, Badinovici, and Savicici. At the same time, by capturing Vijenac the Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has removed the pressure from this direction from the Serbian forces on Alija Izetbegovic's troops in Lukavac, Zivinice, and other places in the Tuzla basin. Simultaneously, the Muslim troops have now created the conditions for a "spread" in a possible wider attack on Mt. Ozren from its southeastern side.

Considering that the people of Mt. Ozren had resisted all the attacks on Vijenac by the Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina Army for two years, and that it fell at a time when it was supposed to be defended by the Krnjina people, the rumors about surrendering this region to Alija Izetbegovic could easily turn Mt. Ozren into another Bilogora: To make the people flee the region, and the Serbian fighters desert their positions! That would allow the Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to achieve more than it has achieved in the entire war so far against the republic of Srpska army!

The Serbian forces did suffer defeat on Vijenac, but the loss of this significant point does not mean that they have lost Mt. Ozren, let alone the war!

### Serbs Claim NATO Supporting Majevica Attack

*AU2105150794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 May 94*

[Report by Vlado Trisic from Mt. Majevica front]

[Text] Muslim forces, supported by the international forces, are today again attacking Serbian positions on Mt. Majevica with increasing intensity. On two occasions, at 0500 and 0800, NATO planes made a low altitude flyover, a mere 100 meters above the woods, and provoked Serbian defense forces, which did not respond

to the provocations. This seems to have been an introduction to yet another attack of the Muslim forces, who, from strongholds in Donje Hrasno, the region of the Stolice transmitter, and Banj Brdo, showered the area with shells of various caliber, at the same time regrouping for infantry assaults.

The information service of the republic of Srpska army east Bosnian corps this afternoon announced that the Muslim forces were carrying out an artillery and infantry attack in the area of Jablanica and Piper, north of Lopari. The Muslims from Horozovina—southeast of Tuzla—are targeting ambulances and Serbian positions in Banj Brdo with a Broving gun. As we report this, and it is now just after 1400, NATO planes have again begun carrying out provocations on Mt. Majevica [words indistinct] did not cause the Serbian troops to waver in their goal to defend their territory from the latest Muslim aggression.

## Croat Commander: No Danger to Corridor Region

*LD2205183194 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 May 94*

[Text] The Serbs launched attacks last night and this morning from small arms and mortars on eastern defense lines of the free Orasje zone [northern Serb corridor]. [Unidentified correspondent] We have found out from the Orasje operational zone command there were no casualties in this attack, but considerable material damage was caused.

General Milivoj Petkovic, the Bosnian Croat Army commander, is currently visiting the units on Orasje-Samac front.

[Begin Petkovic recording] Judging by what we have seen so far the people have realized how serious the situation is, and both the Army and the people are behaving accordingly. The general opinion is that there is no danger to this area, judging by what we have seen so far. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The most frequently used word in all reports from Bosnian Posavina is the corridor. There is no need to explain what it means to the Serbs. But another question arises here.

[Begin Petkovic recording] What are we waiting for? This is the question we are asked everywhere we go. The Army cannot raise itself above politics. The Army has to follow political decisions and it will behave accordingly. All units here, both the Croatian Defense Council's and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 2nd Corps—the Tuzla Corps—are in a state of full combat readiness. I do not think the Serbs have any chance of widening the corridor here. Whether we will try to cut it—you will be told when the time comes. [end recording]

## Silajdzic Demands Help From United Nations

*LD2205215294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 May 94*

[Text] Tonight, on the second anniversary of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina's United Nations membership, Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and TV welcomes Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government. He talks to Enes Musabasic. In this program we have selected the prime minister's views on UN efforts to put an end to the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] We have demanded that the United Nations follow the rules laid down in the UN Charter. Namely, it should help. There are [word indistinct] rules in this world that should be complied with. Unfortunately, not only have the United Nations and the UN Security Council in particular, and the five permanent members which for all practical purposes formulate its policies, failed to help us but they have made things worse for us. Although the international community says it does not want to intervene it has already intervened by imposing an arms embargo. Hence, having said that the United Nations is doing its job today, it is in fact saying that it is redressing to a certain degree the historic mistake it had made regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina—there is no such precedent.

There is no precedent, as far as I know, there has been no repeat of the systematic violations of the UN Charter, such as in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Consequently, when we ask the international community to help us we want it to do what it should have done a long time ago. Because of these mistakes, the arms embargo above all, this intervention in helping the aggressor should come to an end. We have lost 200,000 people as a result of these mistakes. We have a ruined country and the kind of situation you all know too well. Hence, when we demand that the international community do something we are not begging for charity, but are demanding just a little bit of what belongs to us. Nothing can make up for the lost lives and the sufferings we have experienced over these two years. [end recording]

[Musabasic] The very same international community has over a long period of time come up with a number of peace proposals, mainly based on an ethnic division of our country.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] Europe has found solutions appropriate to its own nature, this has to be understood. Europe consists of national states, not of multicultural, multiethnic societies such as ours. Europe is not cosmopolitan—Europe only tolerates minorities. They are applying their own model to Bosnia.

Europe says it wants to become like Bosnia, but at the same time, it allows the model of what it strives to become to be destroyed before its eyes. These are the dilemmas Europe is facing. As I said, Europe is looking for a solution in Bosnia—a solution that would be Europe-like and not a

solution that we see as a good one. For this reason, the division into ethnic groups—although it is quite clear and we have always stressed that Bosnia is live tissue and cutting it along ethnic lines that have never clearly existed—means war, means bloodshed. It is live tissue, which has to bleed when cut along imaginary ethnic lines.

Despite this, we have up till now failed to persuade Europe that this is the case, except for the act of the creation of the [Bosniak-Croat] federation, which to a certain extent makes a significant contribution toward the solution of the question of the restoration of Bosnia. [end recording]

## Karadzic Warns of 'Counterattack' Against Muslims

*LD2205194994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1921 GMT 22 May 94*

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic, told SRNA today that "the Serbs are ready to start negotiations on the cessation of hostilities immediately and without any preconditions" but that they would "favors a permanent and not a temporary peace."

Commenting on the appeal issued to the Serb and Muslim sides last night by Yasushi Akashi, UN secretary general's special envoy in former Yugoslavia, calling on the warring sides to begin negotiations on a global cessation of hostilities, Karadzic said that the Muslim forces ar launching major offensive operations along the entire front.

"We want the international community to warn the Muslim side to stop the attacks because if this does not happen the Serbs have a legitimate right to defend and to counterattack," Karadzic told SRNA. Karadzic said that he does not know the details of Akashi's draft plan for an urgent cessation of hostilities, but he added that an earlier draft made by Akashi and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin represent a good basis for further negotiations.

## Commentary Condemns Owen, European Positions

*AU2005162694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 May 94*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] After half a century, Europe is again facing a familiar monster: fascism. And Europe is again behaving in the same way and making the same mistake. Its politicians are again capitulating and, what is even more pathetic, they are covering up the crimes and siding with the criminals [words indistinct].

Half a century ago Chamberlain travelled to Munich to sign the shameful agreement that handed Czechoslovakia over to Hitler's bloody embrace. His name is written in the pages of history in large letters of fear, as a warning to future generations that failing to confront fascism can bring only a deceptive peace of perhaps a few months, but then claim millions of lives. Instead of Chamberlain, we now have Lord Owen, who has emulated the former in every respect. Chamberlain would most certainly not have dared visit a place from which the Nazis had expelled and murdered the population of other nationalities, nor would he have held talks with the man who ordered it. With his visit to Zvornik and his talks with the demented psychiatrist and mass murderer [Radovan Karadzic], Owen has desecrated the graves of thousands of Muslims from Zvornik, and also the graves of those Serbs who tried to protect their neighbors. Having no understanding of Karadzic's tricks, this English lord has himself sinned against the victims, depriving them of peace even in the next world. These victims left this world in 1992 as innocent children would, in the mistaken belief that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and civilized Europe would never allow any harm to come to them. Those Zvornik people who survived, and all other Bosnians, realized after Zvornik whose the JNA was, who stood behind it, and with what intentions.

With his visit to Zvornik, Lord Owen has revealed the essence of the European silence in the face of the Bosnian bloodshed. In other words, Europe wrote off the people of Zvornik just as it did the Czechs before the Second World War. Some in the West are still trying to find excuses for Owen and Stoltenberg, in the style: Let them be, they are just after the spotlight. They have to do something to justify those high salaries of theirs [word indistinct]. Their bad name could not be mended even if they were to do a complete U-turn. The bad name of Europe can be mended only by anti-fascists, and just such a movement is beginning to rise.

Hemingway went to Spain half a century ago, primarily as a fighter against fascism. Bernard-Henri Levy has been touring fighters against fascism in Bosnia now, trying to make Europe and the world see that a new modern fascism is at work here. He has been making films, and he has formed the Party of United Europe, which he calls the Sarajevo List. Bosnia is the last chance to halt the onslaught of this new fascism and a catastrophe that will be incomparably worse that the one elicited by Chamberlain, as this time the fascists will have nuclear weapons, Levy says.

To remind you, Hemingway—to the detriment of mankind—lost the battle against Chamberlain. Is Levy to suffer the same fate? Or perhaps we should believe that Owen's name will be the last one in the history of the shameful [word indistinct] of Europe.

### Tudjman Unveils Statue, Speaks in Podgora

*LD2105173194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 21 May 94*

[Excerpts] President of the Republic Franjo Tudjman unveiled a statue of Don Mihovil Pavlinovic, a leader of the Croatian national revival, in Podgora today. President Tudjman spoke about the work of Don Mihovil Pavlinovic and the current situation in Croatia.

[Begin Tudjman recording] [passage omitted on details of Pavlinovic's life] If it were not for the greatness—both intellectual and political—of men such as Mihovil Pavlinovic we would not have Croatia as it is today. His ideas, similar to those of Ante Starcevic [19th century Croatian intellectual], were the foundation for the thoughts of later cultural and political players in Croatia, and we have used his ideas today as the basis for the movement for the creation of the independent and sovereign Croatian state. They have enabled us to conduct Croatian state policy, as we have done, on all issues, including the Serb problem in Croatia, the general south Slav problem, and especially policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording] [announcer's remarks indistinct]

[Begin Tudjman recording] We have proved to the world that we are in favor of a peaceful solution. The world has seen that Croatia is a peace-loving country, but also a resolute country. Consequently, if we have to, if our efforts to normalize relations by peaceful means and gradually to introduce the constitutional and legal system into the occupied territories fail, the world will have to understand that Croatia has used up all possibilities and that it can no longer support a situation in which more than 250,000 Croatian people, refugees live outside their homes, even if those homes are destroyed and ruined. We will build new ones, we will build everything all the way to Vukovar and Baranja [words indistinct] [applause] [end recording]

[Announcer] Croats from Australia, Canada, America, and Europe are coming back home. The unity and reconciliation of all Croats here and in the diaspora have been achieved. Despite the war we have managed to conduct a stable economic policy, and it is thanks to this that we will manage to introduce our money, the Kuna, on Statehood Day. The president said that economic experts have recognized our achievements:

[Begin Tudjman recording] You have achieved this despite the consequences of the war and without a single dollar or mark in foreign loans. You have achieved this because you knew what you wanted both in the political and economic spheres. Croatia had a leadership that knew what it wanted, that led its people, and gained the people's trust. [passage indistinct]

Let us be worthy of Mihovil Pavlinovic and other great men of Croatia, and of all Croatian victims who have laid their lives on the altar of the homeland. Let us be worthy of everything we have achieved in the past four years, worthy of the achievements the world has recognized and admires. The world is ready to lend assistance to our stable Croatia. As a democratic and stable country, we needed allies in the world, but, I assure you, the world also needs this stable Croatia as a factor of peace and democracy, as one of the important players in the creation of the new international order in this part of southeastern Europe.

Dear brothers and sisters, men and women of Croatia [words indistinct] Croatian navy, and the Croatian armed forces. I am convinced that the Croatian people will know how to complete their historic task, that they will strengthen their sovereignty and know how to build the Croatian homeland into a country of well-being and progress for all people of Croatia, a homeland which Croats in the diaspora, throughout the world, will come back to, because today they can be proud of being the sons of the Croatian people and of a democratic Croatia.

Long live Croatia! [end recording] [passage omitted]

### Stresses Muslims' Need For Alliance

*LD2105183394 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 May 94*

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpts] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman unveiled a monument to Mihovil Pavlinovic, a 19th-century Croatian politician and publicist, in Podgora today. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Speaking about the current state of Croatian state policy, Franjo Tudjman had the following to say about relations with the Serbs:

[Tudjman] "As the head of the Croatian state, and assuming full responsibility, I declare here that they cannot count on such a policy [not further specified]. Croatia will try to do its utmost to integrate the occupied Croatian areas into Croatia's constitutional and legal system in a peaceful way on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions and the deployment of the peace forces. But, if this cannot be implemented within the current mandate of the peace forces, Croatia will use all means—to which it is entitled as an internationally recognized and sovereign country—to establish its constitutional and legal system on every inch of Croatian soil."

[Correspondent] Speaking about Croatian state policy on Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian president said that its continuity resulted in the Washington agreement, the implementation of which will contribute to improving Croatia's already good status in the world.

[Tudjman] "The Bosniak Muslims have no other way to survive in Europe than to rely on and ally themselves with the Croats. They have no other way to join democratic Western civilization than with the Croats. The Muslim leadership understood this, and this has made possible the end to the war and the agreement which, as

I said, is in our interest, but also in the interests of the Muslims. It is therefore in the interest of the Croatian people and the Croatian state. This must be clear even to our Croat people who, in those terrible events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, first suffered huge losses inflicted by the Serb aggressor, and then in the war with the Muslims at the time when they were orientated towards the creation of their independent Muslim state."

[Correspondent] President Franjo Tudjman also spoke about the attempt to create a parliamentary and government crisis in Croatia. He said:

[Tudjman] "Croatia's political pluralism has showed its maturity. Croatia will come out of this temporary parliamentary crisis stronger. The departure of a few deputies to another party will not dent its reputation. On the contrary, this will further reinforce democratic Croatia and prove the stability of our system, which has enabled us to achieve what we have achieved in establishing an independent Croatia and in the economy." [passage omitted]

## HDZ Head Confirms Parliamentary Crisis 'Avoided'

*AU2005202494 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 94 p 2*

[HINA report: "Jure Radic: Confirmation of Principles That Exist in a Multiparty System"]

[Text] Zagreb—The Presidency of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] unanimously approved the agreement that was signed in the parliament on Wednesday [18 May]. This was stated by HDZ Secretary General Jure Radic for Croatian Television's Dnevnik [news] program on Thursday night. Dr. Radic appeared as a guest on the Dnevnik program shortly after the voting on the aforementioned agreement at the session of the HDZ Presidency.

"Considering that, according to the HDZ Statute, the Presidency makes all important political decisions and is accountable for them, it is quite clear that the HDZ accepts the agreement signed on Wednesday without any reservations, and that it will carry it through," the HDZ secretary general said.

### Parliamentary Crisis Avoided

Radic said that "a possible parliamentary crisis had been avoided in the best way," with the signing of an agreement. He stressed that the HDZ had approached the agreement with clear stands and the desire to offer to the opposition parties the number of leading posts in the assembly to which they are entitled to according to the percentage of their deputies in the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia. He said that the same principle applies to the HDZ, which means that posts of the chairmen of both assembly chambers belong to the HDZ.

Commenting on the view expressed by Drazen Budisa, leader of the Croatian Social Liberal Party, that thanks to the signed agreement, the Croatian Assembly will no longer be able to function as a mouthpiece [transmisija] of the ruling party and the president of the state, Dr. Radic said that the Assembly had not been the mouthpiece of anyone in the executive authority nor of the president of the state in the past either. He said that the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia has the constitutionally regulated powers and tasks, and it has been and will be functioning in a democratic way as a multiparty assembly. Dr. Jure Radic said that the agreement signed on Wednesday is "yet another confirmation of the principles that exist in a multiparty system founded on the results of the elections."

### New Names by the End of the Week

In response to a question by the Dnevnik editor concerning the election of the future leading people in the assembly, Dr. Radic said that the representatives of the parliamentary parties have agreed to complete all the necessary consultations in connection with that this week, and after that they will inform the public on who the new assembly officials will be.

Replying at the end of the interview to a question on whether the assembly, following the signing of this agreement, will begin its work and deal with the vital issues for which it has the mandate of the Croatian electorate, Dr. Jure Radic said that he thought that the public was pleased with the signing of the agreement and that the public was in fact one of the reasons as to why the agreement was signed. The HDZ secretary general repeated that the starting points of the agreement were that the election results, which stipulate that the top posts in both assembly chambers belong to the HDZ, be taken as the criterion.

## Opposition Leader Satisfied With Outcome

*AU2005202594 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 94 p 3*

[Report by Sonja Modric: "Parliament Is No Longer Mouthpiece of HDZ and President Tudjman"]

[Excerpt] Zagreb—After yesterday' first round of talks between the opposition leaders on the distribution of assembly posts that the opposition is entitled to have according to the agreement with the ruling party, the Liberals held a news conference in the assembly building yesterday. All members of the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party] tacitly supported in front of journalists the view of their president Drazen Budisa that all the participants in the negotiations on the distribution of power in the assembly and the settlement of the parliamentary crisis "had demonstrated a high degree of political maturity and responsibility." Budisa expressed the hope that the agreement would indeed be respected by all sides. He guaranteed on behalf of the opposition that this would be all the opposition would do.

Budisa declined to reveal the details of the talks on the opposition's candidates and the tactics of future moves in the assembly. Stressing that he was not authorized to talk about that yet, Budisa only conveyed the HSLS' view: Damir Zoric should remain the vice chairman of the Chamber of Counties. The Liberals are also demanding the post of the deputy chairman in the Chamber of Representatives for their candidate Goran Granic, who was nominated in a secret ballot. As Budisa said himself, he is not a candidate for any of the available posts in the assembly as he is involved only in the work in the party.

Asked by the NOVI LIST journalist to comment on the view held by a section of the opposition that the opposition did not profit as much as it could have from the agreement, Budisa used the allegory: A rope can be stretched to the maximum, but then there is a danger of it snapping. It is better to have some kind of assembly than not to have one at all. A chaos and the collapse of the system do not suit the opposition. Only the undemocratic forces could wish a chaotic situation. So, Budusa takes the view that the opposition has gotten as much as it could, and that the consequences will be significant. The situation in the assembly, as he said, has already changed. The Croatian Assembly can no longer function as the mouthpiece [transmisija] of the ruling party and the president of the republic. The rift in the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] will continue.

**Croatian Democratic Community Has Lost Power**

The Croatian Democratic Community has lost the power it had and one should hope that it will behave accordingly in the future. Budisa mentioned the upcoming election of the assembly leadership, which will include chairman and deputy chairmen of the chambers and the heads of committees and commissions. Since the opposition is getting a significant number of places in this way, it is clear that its influence will be much greater. [passage omitted]

## Assembly Chamber To Elect New Speaker

*LD2305115594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 23 May 94*

[Excerpt] The 14th session of the Chamber of Counties is expected to resume within an hour. Josip Manolic is expected to finally resign at this session. A new speaker and new deputy speakers of the chamber will also be elected. This is what the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] deputies have been discussing since 1000, that is 1100 [as heard], in state president and party chairman Tudjman's residence.

Opposition leaders, too, are talking behind closed doors at the Croatian Assembly. Both sides are outlining their strategy for implementing an interparty agreement. The opposition must come up with their candidates for deputy speakers in the Chamber of Counties by 1400. As yet, no one is willing to make any official statement. This is why we can reveal only an unofficial and unconfirmed piece of information: the deputy speaker posts in the Chamber of Counties should be allocated to the Croatian Liberal Democratic Party and the Croatian Peasants' Party. [passage omitted]

## Envoy to UN on Future of Talks With Serbs

*LD2005222994 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 20 May 94*

[Telephone interview with Mario Nobilo, Croatian ambassador to the United Nations, by unidentified announcer; place not given; from the "Picture vs Picture" program—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Announcer] In your letter to the UN Security Council you warn of something that causes fears here in Croatia, too—the freezing of the situation. Judging by all appearances, the Serbs from the occupied territories accepted the negotiations, but only in order to procrastinate, that is, to complete the first phase aimed at separation. This in a way threatens to become a Cyprus-style problem. Are you afraid of a Cyprus-like situation in Croatia?

[Nobilo] I think that such a danger is always there if this status quo continues. If it continues throughout this year, Croatia should cancel the Zagreb agreement. In other words, the Zagreb agreement is valid only if the next step toward economic and political issues is made. Failing that, Croatia will have to make completely different decisions. I belive that a political solution will be reached as a result of the efforts of the international community to find a tripartite agreement—a bilateral one now in Bosnia. However, if Knin's position becomes tougher, Croatia will have to make completely different decisions in completely different circumstances.

[Announcer] What deadline would you consider reasonable to cancel the Zagreb agreement?

[Nobilo] At the moment, I am not advocating that solution. All negotiations and the stabilization of the situation follow the same dynamics. First, the forces must be separated and peace restored. However, I am speaking about a possible final scenario. If all serious solutions fail to materialize and if there is no implementation in the four months that the international community gave itself, and which coincide with the UN Protection Force mandate, Croatia should make completely different decisions than now. [passage omitted]

## Krajina Official: Tudjman 'Nervous' About War

*LD2205143994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 22 May 94*

[Text] Kragujevac, 22 May—Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina, told Kragujevac Radio today that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman "has become nervous," about the internal problems in his party and that "there is nothing else for him to do but to take up the war option."

Commenting on Tudjman's threat that "he will use all available means to reintegrate the rebel Serbs into Croatia," Mikelic said that the Republic of Serb Krajina would also use all of its available resources to defend all things Serbian and which have been Serbian for centuries. Adding that the defense of the republic of Serb Krajina "is not what it was when Miljevci plateau and Divoselo were attacked," and that Serbs would no longer lodge complaints with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] if Croats attack any of their villages, Mikelic said: "Our strength is now tenfold compared to earlier years."

Dwelling on the statements from Croatia that it would not extend UNPROFOR's mandate, Mikelic said the territory in question did not belong to Croatia but to the republic of Serb Krajina and that the international forces could stay there for two years because the Serbs want peace. "Croatia's behavior as a whole best illustrates why Serbs cannot and do not want to live with the Croats any longer," he said.

## Boban Seen at Military Parade in Vinkovci

*LD2105191894 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 May 94*

[Excerpt] A military parade was held and the reconstructed part of Bosut barracks [in Vinkovci] was consecrated as the Croatian Army's 5th A Brigade marked the forthcoming Statehood Day of the Republic of Croatia today. Despite the fact that it was formed on 25 October 1992, the 5th Guards' Brigade Hawks has an impressive list of military achievements and it is made up of experienced soldiers from Slavonia. As General Janko Bobetko [chief of the Croatian of General Staff] stressed, this brigade earned its historic diploma in Vukovar and all the battlefields where Croatia was defended. [passage omitted] [video shows details from Vinkovci stadium where the ceremony was held. Herceg-Bosna president Mate Boban is shown standing behind Chief of General Staff Bobetko, together with an Croatian Democratic Community leader and Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks]

### Crvenkovski on 'Progress' With Greece

*LD2005195394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] Skopje, 20 May (TANJUG)—Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski returned to Skopje this evening after a several-day visit to New York, where he had several meetings with Cyrus Vance, UN mediator in the dispute with Greece, and with the U.S. President's special envoy, Matthew Nimitz. In a statement for the press immediately on arrival at Skopje airport, Crvenkovski said that certain progress has been achieved in the dispute with Greece. Namely, the talks are focused on overall bilateral relations and contacts between the two countries are being maintained without Greece's three well-known conditions. However, Crvenkovski concluded, it is hard to say how things will develop further. He also announced that Nimitz will soon be visiting Skopje.

### Skopje Air Base To Be Adapted for Civilian Traffic

*LD2105093994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0801 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] Skopje, 21 May (TANJUG)—The Skopje air base Petrovec will soon become a mostly civilian airport. At a meeting with the president 20 May, representatives of the Macedonian Transport and Defense Ministries agreed that two out of three airstrips will be used for civilian purposes—one for passenger and the other for cargo air traffic. After the departure of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], the Petrovec air base was mostly taken over by the army of the recently formed state. This impeded development of civilian air traffic, while the military section of the airport was insufficiently exploited. Modernization plans have been announced for next year, primarily the reconstruction of the runway and signaling system.

## Kucan on War in B-H, Borders, Central Europe

*LD2205115794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 22 May 94*

[Interview with Slovene President Milan Kucan by correspondent Gyoergyi Orban; place and date not given; Kucan speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Orban] On the territory of the former Yugoslavia, war is being waged for the state borders. Slovenia would also like a border revision with Croatia. [passage omitted] In your view, where will all these border battles lead?

[Kucan] The war against Bosnia-Herzegovina is being waged because of the nationality problems. The striving to resolve the nationality issues is justified at all events; but the means are not justified. The method that Serb politics have chosen for the solution is antidemocratic, and the revanchist voices being heard from the direction of Italy luckily reflect only certain peoples' stances on the matter of Slovenia's borders. I hope that Europe, in the interest of its own future, will make a stand for its own position and will defend the principle that European borders are inviolable and cannot be altered by force, by war.

As for the Slovene-Croatian border, on land this is definitive; but the marine frontier has not been designated. We have now set up a joint commission; I hope that this professional committee will recommend to the politicians solutions with which the Croatian-Slovenian marine borders can also be designated definitively.

[Orban] Mr. President, you personally still know a lot of leaders from the former Yugoslavia, but also from the new successor states. You see events from the inside. What will be the outcome of this war?

[Kucan] I am mostly acquainted with those leaders who also held office in former Yugoslavia. My opinion is that the Balkan crisis does not really depend on personalities. It is true that in Serbia, for example, most of the threads are held in the hand of President Milosevic; but Milosevic is not the intellectual author of the concept of greater Serbia. The history of this idea goes back to much older times. [passage omitted] Also, Milosevic, from Serbia's point of view, is a really successful implementer of this concept. As you see, a lot of people support this concept, even from the ranks of the opposition. So, not a lot depends on personalities. The fate of the war depends on whether the opposing sides will accept or not the logical European norms that are also included in the Helsinki documents.

[Orban] What is your opinion on Central European cooperation? Do regional relations of this kind have a future?

[Kucan] Central Europe is an objective reality, which stretches from the Baltics to the Adriatic. I consider this as an intellectual position. Let me quote one of your compatriots, Gyoergy Konrad [writer], who said that Central Europe constituted a world outlook. I agree with him, by all means. Central Europe is a spiritual quality, a life situation, a stance, a value system. This is where these countries' mission lies. They have to bring these values into the common Europe. I am convinced that the European ideal can be realized. But, if it turns out in the end that an associated or joint Europe is not possible after all, Central Europe will gain a new sense and meaning. Then we will have to consider the idea of an association in an institutional form, from the point of view of Central Europe, as against Western and Eastern Europe. Naturally, the question of where the borders of Central Europe begin is still to be answered.

## Federal

### Milosevic Voted 'Most Popular Personality'

*LD2105150994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1412 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] Novi Sad, May 21 (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, is the most popular personality in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), say the results of a poll published here on Saturday. The poll was conducted by the 'Mark-Plan' marketing centre in 27 muncipalities throughout the F.R.Y. on the basis of a representative sample of 1,045 persons of the different social and demographic profile. The questioned were asked to state five most popular public figures in the different fields, like politics, show business, sports, culture or the like.

The largest percentage (16.7 per cent) of the vote went to Slobodan Milosevic, followed by National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic (7.3 per cent) who eliminated hyperinflation, and two folk music singers Dragana Mirkovic (6.9 per cent) and Lepa Brena (4.3 per cent).

As for other questions, 60 per cent of the answers said they would vote again for the political party they voted at last December's elections, while 48.6 and 29 per cent respectively believed and disbelieved in Dragoslav Avramovic's economic recovery program.

### Kontic Views Effect of Assembly 'Incidents'

*AU2105202594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 May 94*

[Text] Radoje Kontic, prime minister of the federal government, especially for this Radio Prishtina Daily News program, assessed the effects of [FRY National Bank governor] Avramovic's program so far. He also spoke about further steps to be taken in its implementation. Slobodan Nikolic talked to Premier Kontic.

[Begin recording] [Kontic] I believe we should not be satisfied with the results that we have achieved so far. They are not definite, they are not final, and they cannot secure the achievement of those strategic goals of the economic stabilization that we have set ourselves. We are currently at the end of one phase—the reconstruction of the monetary system—and at the beginning of another phase—the recovery of the economy, that is, the increase in production—and parallel to this, certain structural changes. I believe that in the coming period it will be extremely important and unavoidable to maintain the stability of prices and the exchange rate. Moreover, in this context, we have to secure the strengthening of [words indistinct] activity. If I were to pinpoint the basic problem of the economic policy at the moment, then I would define it as revival of production in conditions of price and foreign currency stability.

[Nikolic] From month to month, the [words indistinct] is greater and greater. Can we expect this [word indistinct] in the future as well?

[Kontic] It is true that in the course of the three or four months since the beginning of the implementation of the program, the rate of increase in salaries and wages was quite rapid and that they have now reached a level that—in comparison to the social product at our disposal—is quite serious. According to [words indistinct] salaries have already reached a level of 17 to 18 percent in the social product, which is considered to be the borderline of salaries in the social product. [sentence as heard] Anything that would exceed this level or increase the participation of net salaries in the social product would at the same time mean upsetting the balance that is really necessary to our economic aspirations at the moment.

[Nikolic] How do you assess the [words indistinct] incidents that have led to a situation that makes it difficult to adopt laws, for example, the law on companies, and other legislation?

[Kontic] The federal government is conducting an independent internal and foreign policy, therefore, it can—within the authority granted it by the Constitution—adopt, institute, and implement all policies that are relevant, but it is quite certain that without intense legislative activity by the Assembly, it is very difficult to find the appropriate framework for the federal government's activity simply because we are currently faced with building a new economic and political system, and these are coordinates within which we need to maneuver, particularly if we keep in mind that the old economic system has been transcended, the new one still has not been established. This transition of the economy from one state to another certainly suffers in a certain sense, because the legislative activity of the assembly is not progressing the way we expected it to. [end recording]

### Jovanovic Views Foreign Policy Priorities

*LD2005204294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)—At today's news conference for foreign and Yugoslav reporters at the Palace of the Federation, Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said that the priorities of Yugoslavia's current foreign policy activities are the search for a political solution to the Bosnian crisis, the resolution of other aspects of the crisis in the region of former Yugoslavia, and the strengthening of trust and cooperation with neighboring countries.

At the start of the news conference, the Yugoslav foreign minister recalled that the government reviewed and adopted three reports at its session today—on the announcement from the meeting of the five foreign ministers (United States, Russia, Greece, France, and Belgium) devoted to the resolution of the Bosnian crisis,

on the meeting of the economic group within the framework of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, and on the recent visit by Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], and Vladislav Jovanovic to the Republic of South Africa.

According to Jovanovic, the Federal Government today expressed a positive stance on the announcement of the five ministers in Geneva, especially the part renouncing the war option. "However, we pointed to the practical shortcomings that have faithfully accompanied earlier initiatives of this kind: the unequal treatment of all the protagonists in the Yugoslav crisis, certain remaining forms of hostility, and the fact that the international community should take a more balanced approach in the process of establishing full equality and lifting the sanctions."

The first question to Jovanovic (APA) concerned his recent statement about war cries from Austria and Albania. Jovanovic replied that it would be best if there were no such cries from any country. "Unfortunately, Austria and Albania were involved in the process of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia in the most flagrant and aggressive way, just as they are now involved in exerting pressure on the FRY," he said. Jovanovic added that this also refers to their insisting that the sanctions should stay and be further tightened and to their "very aggressive attitude toward Kosovo and Metohija, Sandzak and Vojvodina."

"We would like this hostile attitude to end," the Yugoslav foreign minister said. Jovanovic was then asked to present Yugoslavia's position on the proposed territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina based on the 49- 51 percent principle.

Having recalled the recent meetings with important international factors, he replied that everyone was clearly told about Yugoslavia's vital interest—the immediate and permanent cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and, as far as the percentage is concerned, "it is a matter for the three warring sides to agree on."

A reporter of the Slovene news agency was almost astonished about the greetings which the federal prime minister and the foreign minister extended to their Italian colleagues clearly alluding to the victory of the Right. Jovanovic first said that such greetings from Belgrade are not at all unusual. As for the victory of the Right, Jovanovic said, Yugoslavia is not going to get involved since this would mean interfering in Italy's internal affairs.

"We do not have a single serious problem in our relations with Italy and we wish to develop cooperation with this country and all other countries," Jovanovic said."

Commenting on the position adopted by the five foreign ministers on the sanctions, voiced at the recent meeting in Geneva, Jovanovic stressed that this was the first time that Europe, Russia and the United States expressed a joint position on the issue.

According to him, the fact that the lifting of the sanctions is not linked with a final solution to the Bosnian conflict is also positive. "That is a certain step forward, but not big enough, because it does not lift the sanctions which are a huge obstacle to peace in Bosnia," Jovanovic said.

A STUDENT correspondent asked Jovanovic: "Up to when will the Africanization of Yugoslavia continue, considering that the nonaligned countries were among the first to stab our country in the back, and when will Yugoslavia return to where it belongs—to Europe."

"First, speaking about stabbing in the back, the blow did not come from Africa, but from Europe," Jovanovic said. "Second, African nonaligned countries wanted to help Yugoslavia, but the former federal government tactically prevented that by turning its back on those countries and asking for assistance from the European Community."

"And third, our activities are not leading to the Africanization of the country. We are a European country although we are now excluded from Europe," Jovanovic said.

The next question referred to "the halt" in relations between the FRY and Croatia.

"The reasons for the halt, if that is true, lie with Croatia. I would like to remind you that the Deputy Federal Prime Minister Zeljko Simic visited Zagreb without any preconditions," Jovanovic said. "We expected, and continue to expect Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic to come to Belgrade, but he has set conditions for his visit. That means that the FRY is not slowing down the development of relations with Croatia," the Yugoslav foreign minister said.

Asked by the Macedonian radio correspondent about relations between the FRY and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], Jovanovic said that "we, on our part, have done nothing to make these relations what they are today."

"All problems were caused as a result of Macedonia's activities. Macedonia opted for secession and got into trouble with Greece. It is denying our right to succession by advocating secession. This is at terrible loggerheads with reality," Jovanovic said.

"The moment Macedonia resolves its problem with Greece and acknowledges our right to succession and continuity, normalization will ensue."

Are there any differences in the U.S. and European approach to the process of resolving the Yugoslav crisis?

"As far as we are concerned, Europe neither has the same interests as the United States nor does it view the future development of the former Yugoslavia in the same way, because it is aware that if the crisis drags on, with all its elements—including the sanctions—this will also be fatal for Europe. The destabilization of the Balkans poses a threat to the whole of Europe," Jovanovic said.

A German correspondent asked whether the federal foreign minister was consulted before the decision was made to withdraw certain foreign correspondents' credentials. At the same time he expressed his "surprise" that not one German correspondent had been put on this list.

Jovanovic replied briefly that the decision on the withdrawal of credentials was under the jurisdiction of the Federal Information Ministry.

Information Minister Slobodan Ignjatovic dealt with the surprise. "I am pleased that you are surprised that credentials were not withdrawn from German correspondents. This strengthens my conviction that you too are aware of the objectivity, or the lack thereof—displayed by certain reporters. This does not mean that we are pleased with the objectivity of what certain reporters are writing. There are limits."

### Law on Foreign Investment Adopted in Parliament

*LD2005155094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1221 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] Belgrade, May 20 (TANJUG)—Firms founded with foreign capital in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will have to adjust by the end of the year their operations to the new law on foreign investments which was adopted by the Yugoslav parliament on Thursday [20 May]. Full effect of the law is expected after the alleviation or lifting of the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council on May 30, 1992.

As explained by the federal government, the new law is expected to ensure greater legal security for foreign investors, grant additional facilities for those who are ready to invest in the Yugoslav economy and simplify the investment procedure. The law rules that foreigners can found firms in Yugoslavia, invest capital in domestic firms, open company branches and buy shares and concessions for exploitation of natural resourses.

Foreign investors will also be able to import equipment and materials for building firms in Yugoslavia tax-free. Foreigners are only not allowed to hold more than 49 percent of the shares in strategically important branches of industry, such as the miltiary industry.

### Living Standards, Medical Care for Children

*LD2005123994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1011 GMT 20 May 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 20 (TANJUG)—After nearly two years of international sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, about one million children in the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro live below the subsistence level. According to reports of the Yugoslav Commission for Cooperation With the U.N. International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), another 200,000 children who have fled from the war-torn former Yugoslav republics are on the brink of starvation.

"Due to the dramatic fall of the personal and overall social standard of living, morbidity and death rates have almost quadrupled in only two years", Ljiljana Stojanovic, assistent federal health minister told TANJUG. Only 80 percent of the children in the F.R.Y. last year received obligatory vaccines. According to the Ministry's information, the worsening of the conditions in the health system is evident: 1.45 in every one hundred hospitalized children died in 1989 and as many as 2.07 in 1993.

The University Children's Clinic, the largest in the F.R.Y., gets almost all supplies from the humanitarian aid provided by organizations and individuals, the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes on Friday.

"The aid comes neither timely nor in sufficient quantities. At the surgery department the number of check-ups and operations has been reduced by 92 percent, while the number of postoperative infections has increased by 30 percent", director of the clinic, Dr Dusan Scepanovic said. At the clinic's pediatrics and surgery departments, 141 children died last year, which is an increase of as much as [word indistinct] percent to the 1991 figure.

As in previous years, five percent of the social product is being earmarked for the health service. In 1989, it amounted to two billion U.S. dollars on the territory of Serbia and Montenegro but last year it was merely around 300 million dollars.

## Serbia

### State's Involvement in Failed Bank Examined

*AU2005142394*

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene in its 17 May edition on pages 37 and 38 carries a report by Svetlana Vasovic, entitled "Perfidious Resourcefulness," about the financial machinations that led to the collapse of Dafiment Bank and the alleged involvement of the state and the Serbian politicians.

As Vasovic says, "an affair has broken out in Belgrade these days that unveils how Serbia and Montenegro managed to raise enormous funds needed for the financing of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia into a truly unusual detail. The entire action was based on rapid emergence and an even faster collapse of private banks, primarily Jugoskandik of Jezdimir Vasiljevic and Dafina Milanovic's Dafiment Bank. In short: Naive savers, be it out of need or greed, entrusted several thousands (even hundreds of thousands) of German marks to these private banks, which either lent their money or invested it in such a way that the state got it and then collapsed. The top representatives of the Serbian political elite and Milosevic's sympathizers received the money, including enormous interests, prior

to the collapse of these banks." As Vasovic proceeds, "the fact that this is a dangerous affair is also seen in that as soon as the biweekly DUGA published a confession by the owner of collapsed bank Dafina Milanovic and the photocopies of receipts that prove the large amounts of money that individual Serbian and Montenegrin officials drew from their accounts, the Federal Parliament placed the Law on Protection of Privacy on its agenda, which would prevent further publication of such documents."

The correspondent also writes that when the opposition weekly SRPSKA REC published "the documents that proved that great quantities of German marks from the bank were also withdrawn by Milosevic's wife Mirjana Markovic (278,411 Swiss francs), her son Marko Milosevic (330,769 German marks), the editor of Television POLITIKA Aleksandar Tijanic, and numerous other influential potentates, the public prosecutor, just like in the old times of socialism, simply banned the issue of the magazine."

Going back to the history of the creation of private banks, Vasovic writes that the National Bank of Yugoslavia "in violation of numerous laws and with the assistance of some state inspectors" at the end of 1991 and in the beginning of 1992 issued licenses for work and the so-called "major authorization" to several private banks. At a time of enormous inflation, these banks offered higher interest rates than anyone else in the West, ranging from 15 to 18 percent per month, Vasovic continues, recalling the days when people stood in line for hours to deposit their money. "Private banks without any appropriate state guarantees naturally worked "successfully" for nearly a year and then rapidly folded one after another," she says.

Her report then analyzes in more detail the collapse of Dafiment Bank, whose owner publicly disclosed some of the people and the projects that her bank had financed. "In August 1991, for example," Vasovic writes, "Dafina Milanovic equipped 500 Knin special troops led by Captain Dragan [Vasiljkovic]. She paid 1.5 million German marks in cash to Brana Crncevic, a Serbian ideologist and president of the association of the Serbian refugees." "To bribe the Serbian politicians in the hope that she would receive concessions for investments in important projects," the correspondent continues to write, Dafina Milanovic decided on "charitable" acts that were "completely at odds with common sense." A comparison between "Dafina's sobbing apologies to the public" and "the list of illogical investments" of her bank further convinces Vasovic that "Milosevic's regime set up Dafina Milanovic to play its role." "For the 'Fast Serbian Railroads' project, even though she knew 'this could not be lucrative,' she—allegedly only so the railroad workers could 'at least get their salaries'—gave 40 million German marks to the Serbian state," Vasovic writes "which were in armored cars transferred from her safe to the Serbian National Bank safe. She gave 10 million German marks to Simpo enterprise (which is one of the most important companies that is even today successfully dodging the embargo) that vanished into thin air." As it is further stated, "for several months, Dafiment Bank, just as it would have been a social welfare service and not a private bank, was also paying for 70 percent of all pensions in Serbia, allegedly out of pure compassion of its owner."

"Dafiment Bank also directly financed the war in Bosnia- Herzegovina. The bank gave millions of German marks to [President] Radovan Karadzic and [presidency member] Biljana Plavsic from the Serbian Republic in Bosnia, and [President] Goran Hadzic from Krajina." Vasovic quotes Dafina as saying: "I would give them cash. They used to take it away in sacks, either Hadzic and Karadzic or Klara Mandic for them." The article claims that Arkan's center in Erdut received 3 million German marks, while Dafina Milanovic also paid nearly 34 million German marks in "special" taxes to the state. "Finally, only 212 million German marks were left, which were then withdrawn by the most prominent Serbian politicians and officials," while, as Vasovic writes, "thousands of small account holders remained empty handed."

The author concludes her article by drawing a comparison between the fate of Dafiment Bank and the unexpected success of Avramovic's monetary reform, which has prompted numerous people to sell their foreign currency for new "convertible" dinars. She observes that the praise for Avramovic "uneasily reminds one of similar praise for Dafina Milanovic, a failed banker who a year ago boasted in front of the very same people with her safes, filled for the state budget."

## Coal Mines Facing Closure Due To Lack of Funds

*LD2305131094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1252 GMT 23 May 94*

[Text] Belgrade, May 23 (TANJUG)—Serbia's underground coal mines will probably have to shut down unless they receive bank loans for emergency purchases of raw materials and semi-manufactures. In May, eight mines, which ordered and received six tonnes of explosives, were notified there would be no further deliveries until the mine managements settled oustanding debts with the explosives manufacturers, TANJUG learns at the Serbian Chamber of Commerce.

Most of the mines have had to go back to manual operation and minimum use of equipment. In order to maintain the output, they would have to invest about 135 million dollars in technical improvement this and the following year. Negotiations with bankers are underway, but it is still uncertain whether they will aprove the credits, the Chamber of Commerce says.

According to the targeted energy output for 1994, Serbia's underground mines are expected to produce 760,000 tonnes of coal, and open-pit mines a further 31,6 million tonnes. It is highly certain now that this year's coal production will hardly reach the expected demand, which is usually at its peak in September. Since

the Serbian power industry has conducted minimal power network overhauls over the past three years, the grid will hardly endure an increased load in winter.

Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) has had to become self-reliant in power production since the U.N. Security Council imposed tough sanctions against it in late May of 1992. The embargo also includes a ban on crude oil deliveries.

### Commentary Views U.S. Role in Peace Efforts

*AU2105163394 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 May 94*

[Commentary by Slavoljub Susic]

[Text] Intense diplomatic activity in international metropolises, prompted by the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, do not for the time being offer any [word indistinct] solutions, although—so to speak—diverse activities are being undertaken. In addition to the activity of the recently established contact group for Bosnia, comprised of high-ranking representatives from the United States, Russia, United Nations, and the European Union, attention should be given to last week's meeting of diplomatic heads from the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and France in Geneva, including a three-member delegation of the European Union which included the former, current, and future presiding members of this association from Belgium, Greece, and Germany.

Judging by everything, at this meeting, the Bosnian hot potato was again passed into the hands of the Europeans, who, after all, lit the fire underneath it, but the Unites States has retained the cooking utensils and the spices. Representatives of the European Union did not hide their satisfaction with the fact that a consensus was reached on the territorial division of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina—51 percent for the Croat-Muslim federation and 49 percent for the Bosnian Serbs—with the mighty ally across the ocean. Actually, this constitutes a return to its earlier plan. At the meeting of the seven ministers in Geneva, the warring sides were called upon to begin negotiations on a four month cease-fire within the next two weeks. On this occasion, it was established that the Bosnian conflict could not be solved militarily, but rather through negotiations. The agreement also envisaged the maintenance of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union within the internationally recognized borders.

All of these positions have their flaws, regardless of the concepts behind them; they were called into question precisely by those who proposed them. Namely, it is known that official Washington quickly rushed to placate the powerful Islamic lobby by saying that it would not pressure the Muslims, but that it would rather attempt to compel them to be more realistic in their demands. The Russians, however, were given the far more thankless role of convincing the Serbs to accept the plan as a whole and all the details. Strange criteria for justice and chivalry. In the history of warfare so far, there is no record of the defeated side dictating terms to the victor, even going so far as to expand territories, which is what is being authorized for the Bosnian Muslims who started the brawl in the smoke-filled, Balkan tavern.

It is certain that the diplomacy of unequal treatment of the warring sides is incapable of changing the situation on the ground in the direction of peace. It can only worsen it. There can be no doubt that such treatment has encouraged the Muslim leadership to insist on the war option, because it has perceived this as a green light for a new offensive against Serbian positions in central Bosnia, Posavina, and Podrinja, which is gaining momentum in full view of the UN forces and numerous observers. The latest Muslim offensive has made ridiculous the international media's lamentations of the allegedly dreadful fate of the poorly armed Bosnians which is what Alija's mojahedin are also called. The foreign press is proof that the arms embargo imposed on all the states in the region of the former Yugoslavia by the United Nations back in September of 1991 does not concern them. [Words indistinct] has recently informed its readership about a large shipment of arms for the Muslims in Bosnia that was flown into Zagreb Airport by an Iranian Jumbo Jet.

Aware of the danger of armed conflicts flaring up if the Serbian Republic Army is forced to launch a counteroffensive, even the most loyal of U.S. allies in Europe are threatening to withdraw their blue helmets from the Bosnian vortex, and are sincerely—or so we believe—striving for a definite, peaceful end to the conflicts. [Word indistinct] also suits Russia, so that it can devote more attention to potential crisis flashpoints in its own country and in the immediate neighborhood, in the area of the former Soviet Union. Therefore, it is up to the United States to make the next move. Washington is expected to finally clearly warn its proteges in Bascarsija [part of Sarajevo] that by continuing the war, they cannot get more than they have been offered at the negotiating table.

## Montenegro

### Djukanovic Comments on Effects of Sanctions

*LD2205130194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 22 May 94*

[Excerpts] Budva, 22 May—After almost two years everyone knows that the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] are absurd and unjust. However, even if they were just, they need to be more flexible, at least enough to acknowledge the basic humanitarian needs. Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic said this at a news conference today with a group of international journalists who have been in Budva, Montenegro, for three days. They go to Serbia on 23 May.

Djukanovic said that the negative consequences of the sanctions on the Montenegrin economy have caused more than $5 billion in damage, with the greatest repercussions on the humanitarian situation because Montenegro is supporting about 50,000 refugees, 20 percent of whom are Muslim. He said Montenegro has been coping with a serious humanitarian crisis for months.

UN bodies have not yet aproved a single request for the import of certain goods which would ease humanitarian and other problems.

The Montenegrin prime minister was frequently asked about the effects of the sanctions and how long Montenegro will be able to endure them. Djukanovic said that the international blockade has been a complete fiasco, but if someone is interested in testing our ability to suffer, the nation is resilient and can endure the imposed hardships.

Illustrating the deadly effects of the sanctions, the Montenegrin prime minister said the government had already sold several vessels from the republic's relatively opulent fleet. However, a number of vessels are in danger because they are trapped in foreign ports, and the costs of their anchorage are growing alarmingly day by day. [passage omitted]

Djukanovic was also asked repeatedly about Montenegro's position in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Djukanovic said that most citizens of Montenegro would be in favor of a joint state with Serbia; others are iin favor of that, but only with absolute equality between the federal members. Montenegro will not back up on that position by a millimeter, the prime minister said. He added that there are secessionist and unitaristic political forces in both Montenegro and Serbia. In this context he mentioned certain political trends from within the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts and certain political views voiced at the recent congress of Serbian intellectuals. However, he stressed that official policy does not support those views, either in Serbia or in Montenegro.

Any denial of Montenegro as a separate entity and the denial of its equality has a very destructive and destabilizing effect on the FRY, Djukanovic warned, and said that the overall constitutional commitments do not threaten Montenegro's position in any way. [passage omitted]

## Kosovo

### Serbs Seal Off Pristina Market, Make Arrests

*AU2005203094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] Reports from Prishtina confirm that at about 1100 today, large Serbian forces blocked all entries and exits to the market of the capital of the Republic of Kosova. Thousands of people were in the market simply trading, the majority preparing for the [Muslim] festival of Bairam. This Serbian police operation lasted for more than four hours. It is reported that the Albanian traders had more than 500 German marks stolen. In addition to this thievery, the Serbian police arrested many young Albanians and sent them to the command headquarters of the Serbian security bodies in Prishtina.

### LDK Leader Suggests Possible Solutions

*AU2005194594 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 20 May 94*

[Text] [Announcer] The Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] held a news conference today presided over by Deputy Chairman Dr. Fehmi Agani. A report by Skender Durmishi:

[Durmishi] Commenting on the possible ways for a solution to the Kosova issue, the LDK deputy chairman told the reporters that only a solution on the basis of the recognition of the right to self-determination of the Albanian people of Kosova in a form of political relations and institutional implementation can be considered as acceptable solutions. All other forms of solution, apparently easier, which are sometimes suggested in the framework of Yugoslavia and Serbia, will only create new forms for permanent crises and conflicts.

LDK Deputy Chairman Fehmi Agani briefed the reporters on the importance of the meeting of Presidents Berisha and Rugova, which testified to the identity of viewpoints and Albania's full support to the solution of the Kosova issue through dialogue and in the spirit of the fair demands of the people. Both chairmen also encouraged the initiatives and efforts by Albanian political parties in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] to achieve a common way of action.

Further on, Dr. Fehmi Agani highly appreciated Denmark's understanding and readiness to assist in resolving the Kosova problem. He greeted the initiative of 11 U.S. congressmen who, in a letter sent to President Clinton, asked that the Kosova issue be treated in the first summit on problems in former Yugoslavia. In the letter, they asked solutions not only through eliminating the discrimination and repression made evident by all international organizations, but on the basis of the right of the Albanian people of Kosova to self-determination.

In continuation of his comments on the present Kosovar reality, Dr. Fehmi Agani pointed out that despite the Serbian power attempts to create a false impression for the domestic and international public on the reduction of tension and repression, the Serbian repression and violence has continued in Kosova, even with increased intensity.

Providing data and concrete names, Agani informed reporters about numerous cases of raids, mistreatments, pursuits of political prisoners, employees of our self-management institutions, culture workers, etc.

Protesting all these cases, Dr. Fehmi Agani found out that through such an increase of repression and despite its verbal readiness to resolve the problem of Kosova through an agreement, which has been confirmed several times, the Serbian power is consciously ruining the preliminary conditions and main premises for an eventual dialogue.

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